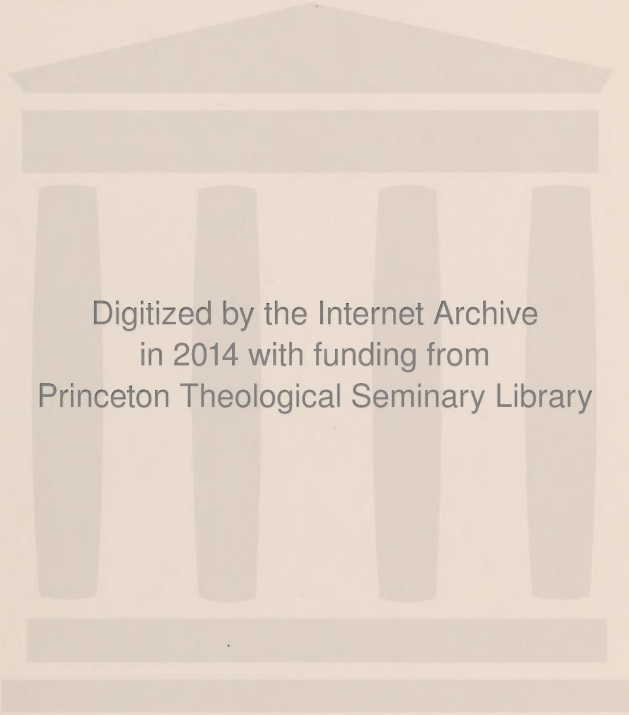






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HARMONIA SYMBOLICA.





# HARMONIA SYMBOLICA:

A

## COLLECTION OF CREEDS

BELONGING TO THE

ANCIENT WESTERN CHURCH,

AND TO THE MEDIÆVAL ENGLISH CHURCH,

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER,

AND AFTER THE MANNER

OF

A HARMONY.

BY CHARLES A. HEURTLEY, D.D.,

MARGARET PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH.

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“Hæc est fides quæ paucis verbis tenenda in Symbolo novellis Christianis datur: quæ pauca verba fidelibus nota sunt, ut credendo subjugentur Deo, subjugati recte vivant, recte vivendo cor mundent, corde mundato quod credunt intelligant.”—S. AUGUST. De Fide et Symbolo, §. 25.

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OXFORD:

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC.LVIII.

THE NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS

OF THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC

AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES

OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

AND THE ISLANDS

OF THE CARIBBEAN

AND THE PACIFIC

OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES

OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

AND THE ISLANDS

OF THE CARIBBEAN

AND THE PACIFIC

OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT



## P R E F A C E.

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THE Author's object in the following pages has been to exhibit, in chronological order, and after the manner of a Harmony, a Collection of the more important Creeds which have come down to us belonging to the ancient Western Church. He has continued the series till the Creed became fixed in the exact type now in use as the normal Confession of the whole of Western Christendom. Thenceforward, confining himself to the English Church, he has endeavoured to trace the changes which a formula so familiar, no longer varying as to its subject-matter, underwent in language, in our own country, till it came to be expressed in the very words in which we now recite it.

He has not included within his plan the Creed to which St. Athanasius's name is commonly attached, nor any of the Confessions of faith drawn up by Councils, much less any put forth merely by individuals. His aim has been to exhibit those formulæ only which may reasonably be regarded as normal Creeds, authoritatively in use in this or the other particular Church, whether for the

instruction of Catechumens before baptism and for customary rehearsal after baptism, or for the Interrogatories used at the actual time of baptism.

The Formulæ used for the instruction of Catechumens before baptism and for rehearsal afterwards often differed in the same church from those used interrogatively at the time of baptism. The two classes are accordingly arranged separately.

The Author is not aware of the existence of any work of precisely the same description. Archbishop Usher, in his *Treatise De Symbolis*<sup>a</sup>, has a valuable Collection of Ancient Creeds, Eastern as well as Western. Suicer, in his *Thesaurus*, under the word *Σύμβολον*, has availed himself largely of Usher's work. Bingham's Collection is well known<sup>b</sup>. But the writer who has brought together the greatest number of these formularies is Walch, in his *Bibliotheca Symbolica*, published in 1770<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico Vetere, aliisque Fidei formulis, tum ab Occidentalibus tum ab Orientalibus, in prima Catechesi et Baptismo proponi solitis, Diatriba. Works, vol. vii. pp. 297, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Origines Ecclesiasticæ, book x. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Summary Reviews of the several Articles of the Western Creed, corresponding more or less to the Historical Review which forms Part IV of the present Treatise, are given in the First of Vossius's *Dissertationes De Tribus Symbolis*; in Grabe's Annotations on the IVth, Vth, and VIth chapters of Bp. Bull's

Walch's plan however, while it is more extensive as to place, is more contracted as to time, than the one which is here adopted. He takes in the Creeds of Eastern as well as of Western Christendom, the Creeds of individual writers and of Councils as well as of Churches, heretical Creeds as well as orthodox : but he confines himself, for the most part, within the limits of the five first centuries, thus stopping short of the period at which the Creed attained its present completeness. Moreover his principle of classification is such as to prevent him from exhibiting the Creeds either of the Western or of the Eastern branch of the Church in one continuous series chronologically arranged. Indeed he is not, in every instance, solicitous to ascertain the dates of the Creeds which he produces. Nor does he appear to have at all contemplated a Harmony. And he has made no distinction,—nor has any other writer that the Author is aware of,—between the Interrogative Creeds used at baptism and the Declarative Creeds. But his work is a storehouse of useful matter : and the Author is under repeated obligations to him, not only for directing him, in some instances, to Creeds which

*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* ; and, more recently, in an elaborate note appended to the Treatise on Prescription against Heretics, in the Translation of Tertullian, published in the Library of the Fathers.

he might not otherwise have met with, but also for pointing out, through his careful allegation of the writers whom he has consulted, not a few sources of valuable information.

For several early English Creeds the Author is indebted to Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*.

The Reader will find in the Appendix a Nicene Creed in Greek words, but Roman letters, interlined with a Latin version, from a manuscript Gelasian Sacramentary, of the eighth century, published by Muratori, and also two ancient English versions of the same Creed, one, it is believed, never before published. These are not strictly within the limits of the present treatise; but they border upon them too closely to make an apology for their insertion necessary.

The Author avails himself of this opportunity to express his thanks to the Delegates of the University Press for having kindly undertaken the publication of his work.

CHRIST CHURCH,  
March 13, 1858.



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## CORRECTIONS.

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Page 3, lines 9, 10, *for* invisibili, impassibili, omnipotente, *read*  
invisibilem, impassibilem, omnipotentem

Page 39, lines 21, 22, *for* λέγειν, Καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, *read* λέγειν  
καὶ Εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον,

Page 78, last line but one, *for* Soame's *read* Soames'

Καὶ ὥνπερ τρόπον ὁ τοῦ σινάπεως σπόρος, ἐν μικρῷ  
κόκκῳ, πολλοὺς περιέχει τοὺς κλάδους, οὕτω καὶ ἡ Πίστις  
αὕτη, ἐν ὀλίγοις ῥήμασι, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ καὶ  
καινῇ τῆς εὐσεβείας γυνῶσιν ἐγκεκόλπισται.—S. CYRIL.  
HIEROS. Cat. 5. §. 12.



# HARMONIA SYMBOLICA.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE ancient Creeds, apart from that one which commonly bears the name of St. Athanasius, may be divided into two great classes, distinguishable from one another, at a glance, by their structure not less than by the quarter of Christendom to which they belong,—those of the Eastern and those of the Western Church. The Apostles' Creed, as we term it, is the type of the one, the Nicene of the other.

And these two classes have run on in two separate lines from a very early period.

The Eastern Creeds, while they have all along retained their characteristic notes, were at first by far the more flexible, readily adapting themselves to meet the exigencies of the Church in her maintenance of the faith once delivered to the saints against the perversions of heretics, with which the East, owing to the genius of its subtle-witted people, was infested much more than

the West<sup>a</sup>. But at length the Creed which had been sanctioned by the Council of Nicæa (A. D. 325), having been remodelled and enlarged, (it is said by Gregory Nyssen<sup>b</sup>), and in this altered form adopted by the Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381); and the Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431) having forbidden the framing of new confessions of faith<sup>c</sup>, the Creeds of particular churches gradually fell into disuse<sup>d</sup>. And thus the Constantinopolitan formula, in the precise form, with one or two exceptions, in which we have it at this day, came to be received and used by the

<sup>a</sup> See Rufin. in Symb. §. 3. and Bp. Bull's commentary upon Rufinus's words, Judic. Eccles. Cathol. v. §. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Niceph. Hist. Eccles. lib. 12. c. 3. Τὴν τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος δόξαν, ὡς ἰσότημον καὶ ὁμόδοξον τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, τῷ θεῷ συμβόλῳ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως προσετίθεσαν, τοῦ Νύσσης Γρηγορίου τὸ λείπον τῷ ἱερῷ συμβόλῳ ἀναπληρώσαντος.

<sup>c</sup> Concil. Ephes. Can. 7. Τούτων τοίνυν ἀναγνωσθέντων, ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προφέρειν ἢ γοῦν συγγράφειν ἢ συντιθέναι, παρὰ τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συναχθέντων πόλει, σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

The Constantinopolitan formula does not seem immediately to have supplanted the original Nicene. The latter was the Creed read at the Council of Ephesus. Both

were expressly sanctioned by the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. From that date the Constantinopolitan appears to have been used universally. "Semper dein latiorrem hanc Symboli formam tota Græcia et Latinitas in ecclesiis prædicant." Petr. de Marca De Vet. Canonum Collectionibus, apud Routh Scriptor. Eccles. Opusc. annot. in Ephes. Concil. Canon VII. vol. ii. p. 89. Both the Nicene and Constantinopolitan, however, were rehearsed at the 3d, or as it is otherwise called the 4th, Council of Toledo, A. D. 589. De Aguirre, Collect. Max. Concill. Hispan. tom. iii. p. 224. So also at the 6th General Council, A. D. 680. Labbe Concill. tom. vi. p. 1022.

<sup>d</sup> See the Dissertation appended to Catechesis v. in the Benedictine edition of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, §. 3.

whole Church as an exponent of her faith, and by the Eastern Church as the sole exponent.

The case of the Western Creeds was widely different. With them no council ever interfered. They were left to the custody of the several churches. While, at the same time, each church seems to have felt itself at liberty to make additions or alterations, to some extent, where occasion required. Thus the Church of Aquileia added "*invisibili et impassibili*" to the attribute "*omnipotente*" in the first article, as a safeguard against the Sabellian heresy<sup>e</sup>.

Notwithstanding this liberty, however, a very remarkable harmony prevails in the Creeds of the various churches which have come down to us. Alterations and additions were made, indeed, in sundry instances. In some, as in the one just referred to in the Aquileian Creed, they quickly disappeared again; in others, they were adopted by other churches, and by slow degrees became generally, and at length universally, established. Still, the nature of the changes thus introduced is such, that, from the earliest period, we have all the framework, and by far the greatest part of the substance, and for the most part even the precise words, of the Creed as it now stands.

The Creed was not originally recited in the Church's service, as it now is and has been for

<sup>e</sup> Rufin. in Symb. §. 5.

many centuries. But it was taught the Catechumens as a part of their preparation for baptism : and they were exhorted to preserve it in their memories thenceforward by the frequent repetition of it<sup>f</sup>. It was also rehearsed to them interrogatively, when they were questioned as to their belief, at the actual time of baptism.

There was often a difference in form, and sometimes in substance, between the Creeds used on these different occasions. And it will be desirable, if only for the sake of clearness, to keep them distinct. I will treat first of what I shall call the *Declarative* Creeds, afterwards of the *Interrogative*.

<sup>f</sup> “ Oratio (Dominica) quotidie dicenda est vobis, cum baptizati fueritis. In Ecclesia enim ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista Dominica Oratio, et audiunt illam fideles. Non ergo timemus ne minus diligenter eam teneatis : quia si quis vestrum non poterit tenere perfecte, audiendo quotidie tenebit. Ideo die Sabbati, quando vigilaturi sumus in Dei misericordia, reddituri estis non Orationem sed Symbolum. Modo enim nisi teneatis Symbolum, in Ecclesia, in populo, Symbolum quotidie non

auditis. Cum autem tenueritis, ut non obliviscamini, quotidie dicite. Quando surgitis, quando vos ad somnum collocatis, reddite Symbolum vestrum ; reddite Domino. . . . Ne dicatis, Dixi heri, dixi hodie, quotidie dico, teneo illud bene. Commemora fidem tuam : inspice te. Sit tanquam speculum tibi Symbolum tuum. Ibi te vide si credis omnia quæ te credere confiteris, et gaude quotidie in fide tua,” &c. S. Augustini Opera. tom. vi. serm. 58. Ed. Benedict. Paris. 1679, &c.



## I. DECLARATIVE CREEDS.

---

### ST. IRENÆUS.

“SOME fancy,” says Bingham, “that the Creed may be found in the writings of Ignatius, Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr: but Bp. Pearson has rightly observed, that these writers, however they may incidentally mention some articles of faith, do not formally deliver any rule of faith used in their own times<sup>a</sup>.”

St. Irenæus, the earliest writer who has preserved to us any thing approaching to a formal Creed, such as may be supposed to have been in use in the Church of his day, singularly enough serves as a link to connect the East and West together. By birth and education he appears to have belonged to Asia Minor. He speaks of himself as having in his early youth seen and heard Polycarp, whom the apostles, or some at least of their number, had set over the Church of Smyrna<sup>b</sup>. After-

<sup>a</sup> Origines, book x. ch. 4. §. 1. See Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 277, Oxford ed. 1820.

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφείς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀ-

σίαν, ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ· ἐπιπολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε κ. τ. λ. S. Iren. l. 3. c. 3. §. 4. See also the fragment of St. Irenæus's Epistle to Florinus preserved by Euseb. Ec. Hist. l. 5. c. 20.

wards he settled at Lyons, and on the death of Pothinus, A.D. 177, who also probably was of Asiatic origin, became bishop of the Church in that city. So intimate was the connection between the Christians of that part of Gaul and those of Asia Minor, that when a fierce persecution had been stirred up against the former, one of whose victims was Pothinus, the Gallic churches sent a letter to the Asiatic, to give them an account of their sufferings:—Οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικούντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ, so the letter is addressed, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς<sup>c</sup>. And among the sufferers one is specified as belonging to Pergamos, and another to Phrygia.

There is indeed good reason for supposing, that the district, of which Lyons and Vienne were the centre, as it was the part of Gaul in which the Gospel was first established, so it owed its Christianity directly to the East. And it is observable that the Creed, as we gather it from St. Irenæus's writings, is more in accordance with the Eastern type than the Western. The same remark applies to the most ancient Liturgy of Gaul. Though "it cannot be said to have been derived from the Oriental, the Alexandrian, or the Roman form," yet "it came nearer to the Oriental form than to either of the others<sup>d</sup>."

There are three passages which may be thought

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Ec. Hist. lib. v. c. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Palmer's Orig. Liturgg. sect. 1x. vol. i. p. 163. 2d. ed.

to contain notices of the Creed in St. Irenæus's great work. In introducing the first of these he speaks of the "Rule of Truth," τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας, which the orthodox Christian had received at baptism, and still kept whole and undefiled. The summary of Christian doctrine which he proceeds to deliver is obviously meant as that rule. In substance, it was, as he expressly asserts, the one faith which was professed throughout the whole Church. In form, it was shaped, there can be no doubt, according to the type to which he was accustomed in the Church over which he presided. None of the three passages however can be considered as containing the precise and complete form. Rather, in all, portions of the actual Creed, yet those expressed for the most part in its very words, would seem to be incorporated into his text.

St. Irenæus's work was written, as he himself states, while Eleutherus was bishop of Rome. (Νῦν δωδεκάτῳ τόπῳ τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κληρον Ἐλεῦθερος. Lib. iii. c. 3. §. 3.) The episcopate of Eleutherus extended, to adopt Mr. Clinton's dates, (*Fasti Romani*, vol. ii. p. 535,) from A.D. 171 to A.D. 185.

### I.—GAUL. (LYONS.) Circ. A. D. 180.

ST. IRENÆUS. *Contr. Hær.* l. i. c. 10. §. 1. *Edit. Benedict. Parisiis* 1710.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν

1. Εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα,  
τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν,  
καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας<sup>e</sup>, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν·
2. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ,
3. Τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας·
8. Καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον,  
τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας<sup>f</sup>,  
καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις<sup>g</sup>,
- (3) καὶ τὴν ἐκ Παρθένου γέννησιν,
- (4) καὶ τὸ πάθος,
- (5) καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
- (6) καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ  
ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν,
- (7) καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς  
παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ,  
ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα,
- (11) καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος,  
ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ  
Σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ  
Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρα-  
νίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα  
γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν  
ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃται, τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς  
πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν  
ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδί-  
κους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις,

<sup>e</sup> “Τὰς θαλάσσας. τὴν θάλασσαν  
legisse videtur interpres, juxta Ps.  
cxlv. 6. et Act. Apost. iv. 24.”

<sup>f</sup> “Οἰκονομίας. Οἰκονομίας Θεοῦ  
legisse videtur interp. nisi Dei vo-

cem explicationis gratia inserue-  
rit.”

<sup>g</sup> “Τὰς ἐλεύσεις. Legere mal-  
lem cum interp. τὴν ἔλευσιν.”

καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τετηρηκόσι  
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ διαμεμενηκόσι, τοῖς<sup>h</sup>  
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζῶν χαρισά-  
μενος, ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσεται, καὶ δόξαν αἰωνίαν  
περιποιήσῃ.

Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν,  
ὥς προέφαιμεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διε-  
σπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὥς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ  
ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὥς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν  
ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδά-  
σκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὥς ἐν στόμα κεκτημένη. Καὶ γὰρ  
αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις  
τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. Καὶ οὔτε αἱ ἐν Γερ-  
μανίαις ἰδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως  
παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, οὔτε  
κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ,  
οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἰδρυμέναι. Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ  
ἥλιος, τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς καὶ ὁ  
αὐτὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει,  
καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπί-  
γνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ πᾶν δυνατὸς ἐν  
λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων ἕτερα τούτων  
ἐρεῖ, (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον,) οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν  
τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν. Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς  
αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος  
εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον ἡλαττόνησε.

### *Interpretatio Vetust.*

Ecclesia enim, per universum orbem usque ad fines terræ  
seminata, et ab Apostolis et a discipulis eorum accepit eam  
fidem, quæ est

<sup>h</sup> “Τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. Lege cum interp. τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.” Ed. Benedict.



1. In unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
qui fecit cœlum et terram,  
et mare et omnia quæ in eis sunt ;
2. Et in unum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei,
3. Incarnatum pro nostra salute ;
8. Et in Spiritum Sanctum,  
qui per prophetas prædicavit dispositiones Dei, et  
adventum,
- (3) et eam quæ est ex Virgine generationem,
- (4) et passionem,
- (5) et resurrectionem a mortuis,
- (6) et in carne in cœlos ascensionem dilecti Jesu Christi,  
Domini nostri,
- (7) et de cœlis in gloria Patris adventum ejus,  
ad recapitulanda universa,
- (11) et resuscitandam omnem carnem humani generis,  
ut Christo Jesu, Domino nostro, et Deo, et Salva-  
tori, et Regi, secundum placitum Patris invisibilis,  
omne genu curvet<sup>i</sup> cœlestium, et terrestrium, et  
infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur ei, et judi-  
cium justum in omnibus faciat, spiritualia quidem  
nequitiae, et angelos transgressos<sup>k</sup>, atque apostatas  
factos, et impios, et injustos, et iniquos, et blasphe-  
mos homines in æternum ignem mittat : justis  
autem, et æquis, et præcepta ejus servantibus, et  
in dilectione ejus perseverantibus, quibusdam qui-  
dem ab initio, quibusdam autem ex pœnitentia,  
vitam donans, incorruptelam loco muneris confe-  
rat, et claritatem æternam circumdet.

Hanc prædicationem cum acceperit, et hanc fidem, quem-  
admodum prædiximus, ecclesia, et quidem in universum  
mundum disseminata, diligenter custodit, quasi unam  
domum inhabitans : et similiter credit iis, videlicet quasi

<sup>i</sup> “ *Curvet*. Sic MSS. cum edit. Oxon. In aliis *curvetur*.”

<sup>k</sup> “ *Transgressos*. In cod. Arund. *Transgressores*.” Ed. Benedict.

unam animam habens et unum cor, et consonanter hæc prædicat, et docet, et tradit, quasi unum possidens os. Nam etsi in mundo loquelæ dissimiles sunt, sed tamen virtus traditionis una et eadem est. Et neque hæ quæ in Germania sunt fundatæ ecclesiæ aliter credunt, aut aliter tradunt, neque hæ quæ in Hiberis sunt, neque hæ quæ in Celtis, neque hæ quæ in Oriente, neque hæ quæ in Ægypto, neque hæ quæ in Libya, neque hæ quæ in medio mundi constitutæ. Sed sicut Sol, creatura Dei, in universo mundo unus et idem est, sic et lumen, prædicatio veritatis, ubique lucet, et illuminat omnes homines qui volunt ad cognitionem veritatis venire. Et neque is qui valde prævalet in sermone, ex iis qui præsumt ecclesiis, alia quam hæc sunt dicet, (nemo enim super magistrum est,) neque infirmus in dicendo deminorabit traditionem. Cum enim una et eadem fides sit, neque is qui multum de ea potest dicere ampliat, neque is qui minus deminorat.

## II.—GAUL. (LYONS.) Circ. A. D. 180.

ST. IRENÆUS, l. 3. c. 4. §§. 1, 2.

Quid autem si neque Apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant Ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum, eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes,

1. In unum Deum credentes,  
Fabricatorem cœli et terræ,  
et omnium quæ in eis sunt,
2. Per Christum Jesum Dei Filium;

3. Qui, propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem,  
eam quæ esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit,  
ipse per se hominem adunans Deo :
4. Et passus sub Pontio Pilato,
5. Et resurgens,
6. Et in claritate receptus,
7. In gloria venturus,  
Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et Judex eorum qui judicantur; et mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis et contemptores Patris sui et adventus ejus.

### III.—GAUL. (LYONS.) Circ. A. D. 180.

ST. IRENÆUS, l. 4. c. 33. §. 7.

1. Εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα,  
ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα,  
πίστις ὁλόκληρος,
2. Καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,  
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν,  
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα,
3. Καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ,  
δι' ὧν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.
8. Πεισμονὴ βεβαία καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ,  
... τὸ τὰς οἰκονομίας Πατρός τε καὶ Υἱοῦ σκηνο-  
βατοῦν καθ' ἐκάστην γενεὰν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,  
καθὼς βούλεται ὁ Πατήρ.

#### *Interpretatio Vetus.*

1. In unum Deum omnipotentem,  
ex quo omnia,  
fides integra,

2. Et in Filium Dei, Christum Jesum,  
Dominum nostrum,  
per quem omnia,
3. Et dispositiones ejus,  
per quas homo factus est Filius Dei :
8. Sententia firma quæ est in Spiritu Dei,  
qui præstat agnitionem veritatis, qui dispositiones  
Patris et Filii exposuit, secundum quas aderat ge-  
neri humano, quemadmodum vult Pater.

Compare 1 Cor. viii. 6, the model on which this and the Oriental Creeds generally appear to have been framed.

1. Εἰς Θεὸς, ὁ Πατήρ,  
ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα,  
καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν·
2. καὶ εἰς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς,  
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα,  
καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ.

## TERTULLIAN.

TERTULLIAN was a presbyter of Carthage<sup>1</sup>. Pamelius supposes his conversion to Christianity to have taken place A. D. 186, and the dates of his various writings to range between A. D. 186 and A. D. 218. He fell eventually into the heresy of the Montanists, the characteristic of which was the belief that Montanus was commissioned to perfect and complete

<sup>1</sup> Some have contended that, though a Cathaginian by birth, it was at Rome that he officiated as

a presbyter. See Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, p. 9.

what the Apostles had begun: and that for this end the promised Paraclete dwelt in him more fully than in them<sup>m</sup>.

The Creed occurs three times in Tertullian's works. On comparing these Creeds with one another, and with other Creeds of the early Church, it will be obvious that Tertullian was more solicitous about giving the substance than the words of the received formula; yet that still, as would naturally be the case with a formula so familiar, the words he uses are, for the most part, the very words of the Creed actually in use in the Church of Carthage with his own interwoven.

The Creed in the Treatise *De Virginibus velandis* (No. V.) seems to come the nearest to the precise Formula. Tertullian himself has remarked that the African Creed bore a close affinity to the Roman<sup>n</sup>; and it will be seen, that, supplying the omissions in No. V. by the fragments of the Creed of St. Cyprian, himself a bishop of the same Church, we have a creed very closely corresponding to the earlier forms of the Roman Creed.

<sup>m</sup> See Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, pp. 12-32.

<sup>n</sup> "Videamus quid (sc. Ecclesia Romana) didicerit, quid docuerit. Cum Africanis quoque Ecclesiis contesserarit. (contesseratur. Rigalt.) Unum Deum novit, Crea-

torem Universitatis, et Christum Jesum, ex Virgine Maria, Filium Dei Creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem: Legem et Prophetas cum Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis miscet, et inde potat fidem." *De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 36.



## IV.—CARTHAGE. Circ. A.D. 203.

TERTULLIAN. *De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 13. p. 206. *Edit. Bened. Paris.* 1675.

Regula est autem fidei, . . . illa scilicet qua creditur,

1. Unum omnino Deum esse,  
nec alium præter mundi conditorem,  
qui universa de nihilo produxerit,
2. Per Verbum suum primo omnium demissum.  
Id Verbum Filium ejus appellatum,  
in nomine Dei varie visum a patriarchis,  
in prophetis semper auditum,
3. Postremo delatum, ex Spiritu Patris Dei et  
virtute, in Virginem Mariam.  
Carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum,  
egisse Jesum Christum.  
Exinde prædicasse novam legem  
et novam promissionem regni coelorum;  
virtutes fecisse;
4. Fixum cruci;
5. Tertia die resurrexisse;
6. In coelos ereptum;  
Sedis ad dexteram Patris;
8. Misisse vicariam vim Spiritus sancti,  
qui credentes agat;
7. Venturum cum claritate  
ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et pro-  
missorum coelestium fructum,  
et ad profanos adjudicandos igni perpetuo,
11. Facta utriusque partis resuscitatione,  
cum carnis restitutione.

## V.—CARTHAGE. Circ. A. D. 210.

TERTULLIAN. *De Virginibus Velandis*, c. 1. p. 173.

Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola, immobilis, et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet

1. In unicum Deum Omnipotentem,  
Mundi conditorem;
2. Et Filium ejus, Jesum Christum,
3. Natum ex Virgine Maria,
4. Crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato,
5. Tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis,
6. Receptum in cœlis,  
Sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris,
7. Venturum judicare vivos et mortuos,
11. Per carnis etiam resurrectionem.

## VI.—CARTHAGE. Circ. A. D. 210.

TERTULLIAN. *Adv. Prax.* c. 2. p. 501.

Nos vero et semper, et nunc magis, ut instructiores per Paracletum, Deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis,

1. Unicum quidem Deum credimus:
2. Sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam œconomiam dicimus,  
ut unici Dei sit et Filius,  
Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit,  
Per quem omnia facta sunt,  
Et sine quo factum est nihil.
3. Hunc missum a Patre in Virginem,  
et ex ea natum,  
Hominem et Deum, Filium hominis et Filium Dei,  
et cognominatum Jesum Christum:

4. Hunc passum;  
Hunc mortuum et sepultum,  
secundum Scripturas;
5. Et resuscitatum a Patre,
6. Et in coelos resumptum,  
Sedere ad dexteram Patris :
7. Venturum judicare vivos et mortuos :
8. Qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem  
suam, a Patre,  
Spiritus Sanctum, Paracletum,  
Sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in  
Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.

Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurrisse, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, ne dum ante Praxean hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni.

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### ST. CYPRIAN.

ST. CYPRIAN, like Tertullian, belonged to the Carthaginian Church. He was converted to Christianity A. D. 246, ordained Presbyter, 247, and consecrated bishop of Carthage, 248. He suffered martyrdom A. D. 258.

We have but scanty fragments of the Creed in St. Cyprian's writings. What we have belong to a class for which I shall reserve a separate place. Yet I introduce them here also, as indicating, as far as they go, the formula of the African Church

of his day, and, as such, contributing an important link in the series of Creeds, at a time when the links which remain are few.

St. Cyprian is the earliest writer who has come down to us in whose works the word *Symbolum* is applied to the Creed. Yet Tertullian, judging from a passage referred to in a preceding page, (note *n*, p. 14,) would seem to have been familiar with the word *Tessera*, as applied to it, which answers to *Symbolum* in one of its senses. And this circumstance may suggest a probable conjecture as to which of those senses St. Cyprian had in view.

The first<sup>o</sup> of the fragmentary Creeds preserved by St. Cyprian occurs in his Epistle to Magnus (Ep. 76. ed. Bened. Paris. 1726, al. 69). Magnus had consulted him on a subject intimately connected with one which was at that time an occasion of much question and debate. The African Church had decided (a decision which was eventually reversed by the Church at large) that those who had received heretical baptism ought not to be admitted into the Church without being rebaptized, or rather, as they who held this view would have maintained, without being baptized, inasmuch as they looked upon heretical baptism as no baptism. Magnus's question was, Whether those who had been baptized by the Novatians were to be dealt with according to the same rule. St. Cyprian replies, By all means. And he proceeds to give his reasons,

<sup>o</sup> Baronius and Pearson regard the Ep. to Magnus as the earliest of Cyprian's Epistles relative to baptism.

and to answer the objections urged to the contrary. Among these objections one was, that the Novatians held the same faith, and used the same baptismal formula as the Catholics. This he states and replies to as follows :

“ Quod si aliquis illud opponit ut dicat, Eandem Novatianum legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo quo et nos baptizare,

1. Eundem nosse Deum Patrem,

2. Eundem Filium Christum,

8. Eundem Spiritum Sanctum<sup>p</sup>;

ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare, sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum, non esse unam nobis et schismaticis Symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt

10. Credis remissionem<sup>q</sup> peccatorum,

11. Et vitam æternam,

9. Per sanctam Ecclesiam ?

<sup>p</sup> There is another passage in St. Cyprian's Epistle to Jubaianus (Ep. 73), which, especially taken in connexion with this, may well be supposed to refer to the confession of faith made at baptism, and which is the more to be noted as shewing unequivocally the belief of the Church of St. Cyprian's age in the doctrine of the sacred Trinity. He is arguing against the validity of heretical baptism: “ Si baptizari quis apud hæreticos potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit. Si pecca-

torum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est. Si sanctificatus est, si templum Dei factus est, quæro, *Cujus Dei?* Si Creatoris; Non potuit, quia in eum non credidit: Si Christi; Nec hujus fieri potuit templum, qui negat Deum Christum: Si Spiritus Sancti; cum tres unum sint, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Filii aut Patris inimicus est?”

<sup>q</sup> Plerique libri veteres habent, “ Credis in remissionem &c.” Baluzius.



mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Ecclesiam.”

The other fragmentary Creed occurs in St. Cyprian's Epistle to the Bishops of Numidia, (Ep. 70,) the subject of which is the invalidity of heretical baptism. Here also the interrogatories used in baptism are appealed to in the same manner as in the former Epistle:

“Sed et ipsa interrogatio, quæ fit in Baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam cum dicimus,

12. Credis in vitam æternam,

10. Et remissionem peccatorum,

9. Per sanctam Ecclesiam?

intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in Ecclesia dari.”

St. Cyprian's Creed therefore, as far as we can collect it from these notices, would appear to have run in this form:—

#### VII.—CARTHAGE. A. D. 255.

ST. CYPRIAN. *Epp.* 76 et 70.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem,

2. In Filium Christum,

8. In Spiritum Sanctum.

10. Credo remissionem peccatorum<sup>r</sup>,

12. Et vitam æternam,

9. Per sanctam Ecclesiam.

or

12. Credo in vitam æternam,

10. Et remissionem peccatorum,

9. Per sanctam ecclesiam.

<sup>r</sup> Or “in remissionem peccatorum.” See the preceding note.

## NOVATIAN.

NOVATIAN was at first a presbyter of the Church of Rome. Afterwards he schismatically procured himself to be consecrated bishop of that Church, in opposition to Cornelius, its lawful bishop.

The fragments of the Creed here given are gathered out of his treatise *De Trinitate*, which would seem to have been written after his separation from the Church.

There can be no doubt but that the “*Regula Veritatis*” of which he speaks, (the same phrase which had been previously used by St. Irenæus and Tertullian, for the same purpose,) refers to the Creed; nor that the extracts here given embody, though paraphrastically, the teaching and for the most part the exact words of the Roman Creed of Novatian’s day, as far as regards the 1st, 2d, and 8th Articles. Scanty as these fragments are, they are interesting as containing the earliest hints of the Roman Creed which have come down to us.

## VIII.—ROME. Circ. A.D. 260.

NOVATIAN. *De Trin. ad calc. Tertull. Paris.* 1675.

*Regula exigit veritatis, ut, primo omnium,*

1. *Credamus in Deum Patrem et Dominum  
omnipotentem,*

*Id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum con-  
ditorem<sup>s</sup>.*

*Eadem Regula veritatis docet nos credere,  
post Patrem,*

2. Etiam in Filium Dei, Christum Jesum,  
Dominum Deum Nostrum, sed Dei Filium<sup>t</sup>.  
Sed enim ordo rationis et fidei auctoritas, digestis vocibus et literis Domini, admonet nos, post hæc credere
8. Etiam in Spiritum Sanctum,  
olim Ecclesiæ repromissum, sed statutis temporum opportunitatibus redditum<sup>u</sup>.

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### MARCELLUS OF ANCYRA.

ALTHOUGH by putting together the fragments preserved by the several writers whose Creeds we have had before us, we might construct a Creed containing all the articles, and nearly all the clauses, of the Western Creed of the present day, yet hitherto we have met with no one Creed which may be regarded as exhibiting the complete formula of the country and the age to which it belongs.

For the earliest complete Creed, belonging to the Western Church, which has come down to us, we are indebted to an Oriental, and one too of more than doubtful orthodoxy. It is the confession of faith presented by Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, to Julius bishop of Rome.

Marcellus had signalized himself in the deliberations of the council of Nicæa, by his defence of the orthodox faith. This had drawn down upon him

<sup>t</sup> C. 9.

<sup>u</sup> C. 29.

the implacable hostility of the Arian party ; and he was, through their instrumentality, anathematized, deposed, and banished as a heretic ; a charge which, though it appeared to be of doubtful proof at the time, became more and more established as he proceeded to work out his principles.

Marcellus repaired to Rome, and remained there about fifteen months. On leaving, he addressed a letter to Julius, bishop of that Church, asserting his orthodoxy, and the more effectually to do so, reciting the Creed which is here given, which he speaks of as the faith which he had been taught by his forefathers in God out of the sacred Scriptures, and which he himself had been accustomed to preach in the Church of God <sup>x</sup>.

From this account we should have been prepared to look for a Creed framed upon the Eastern model. But the Creed which he rehearses lacks the invariable characteristics of the Eastern Creeds; and it is evident, on inspection, that it is the Creed of the Church of Rome : for, with two exceptions, (and one of these, the omission of the word Πατέρα, in the first article, is in all probability to be ascribed to the negligence of some transcriber,) it is identical with the Roman Creed, as indicated by Rufinus, about half a century later. Nor is it to be wondered at, that, writing to conciliate the good opinion of

<sup>x</sup> Ὁ ἦν ἔμαθον, ἐκ τε τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐδιδάχθην . . . Ταύτην καὶ παρὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν εἰληφὼς τὴν πίστιν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν προγόνων διδαχθεὶς, ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ

Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττω, καὶ πρὸς σὲ νῦν γέγραφα, τὸ ἀντίγραφον τούτου παρ' ἐμαυτῷ κατὰσχων. Epiphan. Hær. 52 al. 72. Tom. i. pp. 835, 836. Ed. Paris. 1622.

the bishop of Rome, he should have expressed his belief according to the formula used by the Church of Rome, while at the same time, in substance, the truths which he declared were, as he says, none other than those which he had received from his instructors in the Gospel. What the language of Marcellus's Creed was originally, does not appear. Epiphanius, who wrote in Greek, has delivered it to us in that language.

IX.—ROME. A.D. 341.

MARCELLUS. *Epiphan. Hæres. 52 al. 72. Paris. 1622.*

1. Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν \* \* παντοκράτορα·

\* \* \*

2. Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονο-  
γενῆ,  
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν·

3. Τὸν \* \* γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου  
καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου·

4. Τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου \* \* σταυρωθέντα,  
\* \* καὶ ταφέντα·

γ Walch takes the same view, *Bibl. Symb.* p. 57. "Romanum quidem se Symbolum tradere nunquam dixit Marcellus. At quod si expendimus, cum eundem exhibere vere symbolum publicum et baptismale, quod omnibus Nicæni additamenti caret, tum eum Romæ vixisse, et Romanis doctrinæ suæ integritatem commendare voluisse, tum denique, quamvis is ex Oriente venerit, nihilominus symbolum propius accedere ad Ro-

manum, quale Rufinus ad nos transmisit, si ab uno 'vitæ æternæ' dogmate, et 'patris' nomine, librariorum fortasse culpa omisso, discesseris, quam ad quævis Orientalia, nullam sane videmus subesse causam viris doctis contradicendi, qui Marcellum Romano symbolo hoc loco usum esse arbitrati sunt." Wall (*on Infant Baptism*, vol. ii. p. 470) expresses the same opinion.



5.                   \*                   \*                   \*
- Καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν·
6. Ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
- Καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ \* \* τοῦ Πατρὸς \* \*
7. Ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·
8. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα·
9. Ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν \* \*
- \*                   \*                   \*
10. Ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτίων·
11. Σαρκοῦ ἀνάστασιν·
12. Ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

## RUFINUS.

AMONG the remains of Christian literature belonging to the fourth century, which have come down to us, are commentaries upon the Creed by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Rufinus, and St. Augustine<sup>a</sup>. The Creed which St. Cyril expounds is of the Eastern class, and does not fall within our present province: but those commented upon by Rufinus and St. Augustine are Western Creeds. The several articles are not given continuously by any of these writers: but it is easy to collect them, in each case,

<sup>a</sup> Rufinus speaks of others who had preceded him as Expositors of the Creed, whose works are now lost: "Et quidem comperi nonnullos illustrium tractatorum aliqua de his pie et breviter edidisse. Photinum vero hæreticum scio eatenus conscripsisse, non ut

rationem dictorum audientibus explanaret, sed ut simpliciter et fideliter dicta ad argumentum sui dogmatis traheret." In Symb. §. 1. Rufinus had evidently studied St. Cyril's Exposition, of which he makes frequent use.

from the commentary in which they are expounded, and thus to reconstruct the whole.

The Creed expounded by Rufinus is that of Aquileia, of which Church he was a presbyter. He notes however, as he proceeds, the discrepancies between this Creed and that of the Church of Rome<sup>b</sup>; so that we thus obtain the text of the Roman Creed of his day as well as that of the Aquileian.

Rufinus was baptized A. D. 369. He died about A. D. 410.

## X.—AQUILEIA. Circ. A. D. 390.

### RUFINUS *in Symbolum.*

[Henceforward, capital letters indicate the first occurrence of words or clauses, now universally received. Italics indicate that the words or clauses are unusual.]

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, *invisibilem et impassibilem*;  
\* \* \*
2. Et in Jesum Christum, unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum;
3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto Ex Maria Virgine;
4. \* \* Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato,  
\* \* et sepultus;
5. DESCENDIT IN INFERNAM;  
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;
6. Ascendit in cœlos;  
Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;

<sup>b</sup> In some instances also between the Creed of Aquileia and the Creeds of the Eastern Churches.

7. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;  
 8. Et in Spiritu Sancto;  
 9. Sanctam Ecclesiam \* \* \* ;  
       \*       \*       \*  
 10. Remissionem peccatorum;  
 11. *Hujus* carnis resurrectionem.  
 12.       \*       \*       \*

1. "*Invisibilem et impassibilem.*" "Sciendum quod duo isti sermones in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habentur. Constat autem apud nos additos, hæreseos causa Sabellii, illius profecto quæ a nostris Patripassiana appellatur, id est, quæ Patrem ipsum vel ex Virgine natum dicit, et visibilem factum, vel passum affirmat in carne. Ut ergo excluderetur talis impietas de Patre, videntur hæc addidisse majores, et invisibilem Patrem atque impassibilem dixisse." §. 5.

1. 2. 8. Pamelius and Fell read "In Deum Patrem" &c., "In Christum Jesum" &c., "In Spiritum Sanctum." This is the reading also of the first printed edition, Oxon. 1468. Vallarsius (Veronæ 1745) and the Benedictine Editor of St. Cyprian read "In Deo Patre" &c., "In Christo Jesu" &c., "In Spiritu Sancto."

The reading given above is that of the Benedictine Editor of St. Jerome's works, to which, as well as to St. Cyprian's, Rufinus's Treatise is appended. It is that also of Erasmus's Edition (Froben.), and of a MS. (Barlow 14) in the Bodleian Library: and it receives a strong confirmation from the circumstance that the Formula of Venantius Fortunatus, who about A. D. 570 wrote a Commentary on the Creed, in which he avails himself of Rufinus's Exposition throughout, has the same variation of case. See Venantius's Creed below, (xxiii.) The Pseudo-Athanasian Creed (xxiv), and the Creed of the Laudian MS. (xxvi), are also cast in the same mould.

Dr. Routh (*Reliquiæ Sacræ*, vol. 5, p. 333) cites an imperfect copy of Rufinus's Exposition, belonging to the Library of Magd. Coll. Oxford, as an additional authority for the ablative, at least in Articles 1 and 2, (for the Commentary on Article 8 is wanting.) The fact is, however, that though both articles are given in the ablative in §. 4, where the author is commenting upon Art. 1, yet in §. 6, where he passes on to comment upon Art. 2, that Article is given in the accusative. And even in the Comment upon Art. 1, so strong is the preponderance towards the latter case, we have the epithets "omnipotentem" in one instance, (§. 3,) and "invisibilem et impassibilem" in another, (§. 5.) quoted as here written. The testimony of this MS. therefore is very far from being decidedly in favour of the ablative in Articles 1 and 2. What the reading of Art. 8 was, cannot be ascertained: but it is worthy of note, that the greater number of authorities concur in reading Art. 8 in the ablative, the discrepancy being chiefly as to the text of Articles 1 and 2.

Except in the three Articles referred to, I have, both in the Creed and in the portions of the Comment which I have quoted, implicitly followed the reading of the Benedictine Editor of St. Cyprian.

4. Bp. Pearson, Creed, Art. 5 (vol. i. p. 342, Oxford ed. 1820) says that in the Aquileian Creed, meaning this of Rufinus, there was no mention of Christ's *burial*; and in his note he cites the Creed as he appears to have read it, "Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, descendit in inferna," leaving out "sepultus." But there appears to be no authority for the omission. The Bodley MS., the edition of 1468, Erasmus (*Hieronymi Opp.* Froben.), Baluzius, Pamelius, Bp. Fell, the Benedictine Editors both of St. Jerome's and of St. Cyprian's works, and Vallarsius, all insert it. And Rufinus's comment upon the word in §. 27. abundantly confirms the reading. Pearson himself had previously



cited Rufinus's Creed as containing the clause. Vol. ii. p. 212, note *a*.

5. "Descendit in inferna." "Sciendum sane est quod in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum 'Descendit ad (sic) inferna:' sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic Sermo: vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur." §. 18.

9. The Bodley MS., Erasmus, Pamelius, Bp. Fell, and the Benedictine Editor of St. Jerome's works, add "Catholicam." Vallarsius and the Benedictine Editor of St. Cyprian omit it; so also does the edition of 1468. And it is to be observed that Rufinus's comment gives no hint of the word's having been in the text.

"Sanctam Ecclesiam." "Non dixit '*In Sanctam Ecclesiam*,' nec '*In remissionem peccatorum*,' nec '*In carnis resurrectionem*.' Si enim addidisset '*in*' præpositionem, una eademque vis fuisset cum superioribus. Nunc autem in illis quidem vocabulis ubi de divinitate fides ordinatur, '*In Deo Patre*' dicitur et '*In Jesu Christo, Filio ejus*,' et '*In Spiritu Sancto*.' In cæteris vero ubi non de Divinitate, sed de creaturis ac mysteriis sermo est, '*in*' præpositio non additur, ut dicatur '*In sanctam Ecclesiam*:' sed '*Sanctam Ecclesiam*' credendam esse, non ut in Deum, sed ut Ecclesiam Deo congregatam... Hac itaque præpositionis syllaba Creator a creaturis secernitur, et divina separantur ab humanis." §. 36.

11. "*Hujus*." "Ita fit ut unicuique animæ non confusum aut extraneum corpus, sed suum quod habuerat reparetur; ut consequenter possit pro agonibus præsentis vitæ cum anima sua caro vel pudica coronari, vel impudica puniri. Et ideo satis cauta et provida adjectione, fidem Symboli Ecclesia nostra docet, quæ in eo quod a cæteris traditur, '*Carnis resurrectionem*,' uno addito pronomine tradit, '*Hujus carnis resurrectionem*,'—hujus sine dubio quam is qui profitetur signaculo crucis fronti imposito contingit." §. 43.



Rufinus's Creed evidently ended with the 11th Article. "Sed et ultimus iste sermo, qui 'Resurrectionem carnis' prænuntiat, summam totius perfectionis succinta brevitate concludit." §. 41. Yet in his commentary he takes care to shew that the resurrection of which he speaks is a resurrection unto *everlasting life*.

If the Roman Creed differed from the Aquileian in this Article, Rufinus omits to note the difference.

## XI.—ROME. Circ. A. D. 390.

RUFINUS *in Symbolum*.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;

\* \* \*

2. 3. 4. as in the Creed of Aquileia (x).

5. \* \* \*

Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

6. 7. 8. 9. 10. as in the Creed of Aquileia.

11. Carnis resurrectionem.

12. \* \* \*

## TWO AQUILEIAN CREEDS.

THERE are two Creeds belonging to the Church of Aquileia, which Walch gives in his collection, (xxxiv and xxxv), and which are found in De Rubeis's *Dissertatio De Liturgicis Ritibus Ecclesiæ Forojuliensis*, pp. 242, 243, and 249 ; and again in his *Dissertationes variæ Eruditionis*, pp. 18, 19. They both differ from the Aquileian Creed preserved by Rufinus, though the former of them is nearly identical with the Roman Creed as indicated by that writer. Neither has the peculiarities

which Rufinus mentions as characterizing the Aquileian Creed of his day.

Nothing is known of the age to which they belong, beyond the fact that they were both in existence about the year 855. Judging by the internal evidence however, the more imperfect one must belong to an age not far removed from that of Rufinus, the other to a somewhat later age. I place them here, that they may be in juxtaposition with the Aquileian Creed such as we know it to have been at a known time.

## XII.—AQUILEIA. (Age unknown.)

*De Rubeis. Dissert. de Liturgicis ritibus Ecclesiæ Forojuliensis.*  
*Walch, Bibliotheca Symbolica, pp. 55, 56.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;  
           \*               \*               \*
2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
    Dominum nostrum ;
3. Qui \* \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
    ex Maria Virgine ;
4. \* \* Sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est,  
    \* \* Et sepultus ;
5.       \*               \*               \*  
    Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
6. Ascendit in coelum ;  
    Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;
7. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
8. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam \* \* ;  
           \*               \*               \*
10. Remissionem peccatorum ;

11. Carnis resurrectionem.

12.       \*               \*               \*

### XIII—AQUILEIA. (Age unknown.)

The second Creed is identical with the above, except that the 5th, 9th, and 12th articles stand thus :

5.       \*               \*               \*

Tertia die resurrexit *vivens* a mortuis.

9. Sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam.

12. Et vitam æternam.

### ST. AUGUSTINE.

ST. AUGUSTINE, like St. Cyprian and Tertullian, belonged to the Church of Western Africa. He was born at Tagaste in Numidia A. D. 354; was baptized by St. Ambrose at Milan, on Easter Eve, 387; was ordained a presbyter of the Church of Hippo Regius, in Numidia, in 390; and five years afterwards, 395, was consecrated bishop of the same. He died August 28, A. D. 430.

The Creed occurs several times in St. Augustine's writings, and in writings which, as having been ascribed to him, are usually associated with his works. In his genuine writings however it is, and that on principle<sup>a</sup>, never given continuously; but,

<sup>a</sup> Of the pains taken to conceal the Creed from the uninitiated many instances occur both in St. Augustine's writings and in those of others of the Fathers. Thus e. g. (Sermo de Symb. ad

Catechumenos) "Accipite filii regulam fidei, quod Symbolum dicitur. Et cum acceperitis, in corde scribite, et quotidie dicite apud vos . . . Symbolum nemo scribit ut legi possit: sed ad recensendum,

as in the case of Rufinus's Creeds, is to be separated from the context in which it lies embedded : a work occasionally of some difficulty, it being doubtful at times whether the writer is using his own words or those of the formula on which he is commenting.

Of the treatises bearing St. Augustine's name which contain notices of the Creed, it is not always easy to distinguish those which are really his from those which are spurious. There are three however of whose genuineness, seeing that he himself refers to them and describes them in his *Retractations*, there can be no doubt. The Creeds collected out of these, although one of them was written upwards of twenty-five years after both the others, are, as far as can be determined, identical almost to a word.

They are the *Tract de Fide et Symbolo*, the incomplete book on Genesis (*De Genesi ad Literam: Imperfectus Liber*), and the *Enchiridion de Fide, Spe, et Charitate*.

ne forte deleat oblivio quod tradidit diligentia, sit vobis codex vestra memoria." See also *Serm. ccxiv. §. 1.* S. Cyril. *Hieros. Cat. 5. 12.* *Rufin. in Symb. §. 2.* *Chrysologus, Sermm. 58 &c.* *Sozomen* assigns as his reason for not inserting the Creed of Nicæa in his history, which it was once his intention to have done, his fear lest that document might thus come into the hands of the unbaptized : *"ἵνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον*

*βέβαιον καὶ δῆλον τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάρχει τὸ σύμβολον τῆς τότε συναρεσάσης πίστεως, ἀναγκαῖον φῆθην, εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀληθείας, αὐτὴν τὴν περὶ τούτων γραφὴν παραθέσθαι. Εὐσεβῶν δὲ καὶ φίλων καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστημόνων οἷα δὲ μύσταις καὶ μυσταγωγοῖς μόνοις δέοντα λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν ὑφηγουμένων, ἐπῆνεσα τὴν βουλήν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικὸς καὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων τινὺς τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ ἐντυχεῖν.* *Sozom. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 20.*

1. The Tract de Fide et Symbolo was originally, he tells us in his *Retractations*, l. i. c. 17, a discourse delivered, while he was yet a presbyter (A.D. 393), before the bishops of the whole African Church assembled at a council at Hippo Regius, at their request. He afterwards committed it to writing and published it, at the instance of his friends. It is professedly an Exposition of the Creed.

2. In the second treatise, written about the same time as the last mentioned, he gives at the outset a brief summary of the Catholic faith, in which, though he makes no mention of any formal Creed, he yet obviously uses the Creed as his groundwork, and often expresses himself in its very words.

3. In the third treatise he again employs the Creed as his groundwork, (but here professedly,) in setting forth the Christian faith. And from his remarks, which indeed assume the form of a comment, the Creed which he uses may be collected, as in the case of the *De Fide et Symbolo*. This work was written about the year 421.

Besides these treatises, the Benedictine Editors have accepted five Expository Sermons on the Creed, as genuine, after having rejected several others, formerly attributed to St. Augustine, as spurious. They are Sermons cccxii, cccxiii, cccxiv, cccv, in vol. v, and the first of four *Sermones de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, in vol. vi.

On comparing however the Creeds gathered out of these five sermons with the Creeds gathered out of the three treatises before mentioned, it is ob-



servable that while three of them, the Creeds of Sermons CCXII, CCXIV, and of the *Sermo de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, agree most closely with the Creeds of the said Treatises, the Creeds of Sermons CCXIII and CCXV vary sufficiently to suggest a doubt as to the genuineness of those Sermons. And it is some confirmation of such doubt that Possidius, the biographer of St. Augustine, who was also his contemporary and his friend, in the Catalogue which he gives of his works, mentions but three Treatises or Sermons, besides the *De Fide et Symbolo*, professedly on the Creed<sup>b</sup>.

Of the two Sermons CCXIII and CCXV, the former belongs to a class, the *Sermones de Tempore* of the old arrangement, of which the Benedictine Editors observe, that out of the 256 of which it consists, scarcely 60 can be esteemed genuine. It is regarded as spurious by Bp. Pearson<sup>c</sup>. At the same time it must be confessed that both in subject-matter and in style it bears a great resemblance to St. Augustine's genuine writings. The latter Sermon, which was not published in the earlier editions of St. Augustine's works, is one of a number added by Vignierius, a large proportion of which the Benedictine Editors have placed in their appendix, as spurious. Its Creed varies more markedly than that of the former from the Creed indicated by those writings, which are certainly genuine. Its style also and subject-matter are less Augustinian.

<sup>b</sup> "De Symbolo Tractatus tres." *Indiculus*, c. x.

<sup>c</sup> *Creed*, vol. ii. p. 172.

I will exhibit the Creeds, first of the three Treatises certainly genuine, referred to in the Retractions, then of the three Sermons whose Creeds agree with theirs, and then severally the Creeds of Sermons CCXIII and CCXV.

Whatever may be our conclusion with regard to the genuineness of the two last mentioned, it is clear that that must be accepted as the normal Creed of St. Augustine's Church and age, which has the testimony of three works whose genuineness is beyond question, and of three others whose genuineness has never, I believe, been called in question.

#### XIV.—HIPPO REGIUS. (AFRICA.) A. D. 393—421.

ST. AUGUSTINE. *De Fide et Symbolo. Opp. Tom. 6. Ed. Bened. Paris, 1679, &c. De Genesi ad lit. Imperfectus liber. Tom. 3. Enchiridion de Fide, Spe, et Charitate. Tom. 6.*

(Where no variation is noted, the Creeds of these three treatises are either identical, or at least no variation is indicated in the context in which the several clauses occur.)

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;

\*                      \*                      \*

2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus *unigenitum*,  
Dominum nostrum ;                      (Enchir. unicum,)

3. Qui \* \* natus est *per* Spiritum Sanctum  
Ex Virgine Maria ; (de Fide et Symb.)

Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
et Virgine Maria ; (De Gen. and Enchirid.)

4. \* \* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est,  
\* \* et sepultus ;

5. \*                      \*                      \*

Tertio die resurrexit a mortuis ;

6. Ascendit in coelum ;

Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;

7. Inde venturus est judicaturus (ad judicandos,  
de Gen.) vivos et mortuos.

8. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum ;

9. Sanctam ecclesiam ;

\* \* \*

10. Remissionem peccatorum ;

11. Carnis resurrectionem

12. (in vitam æternam) (?) (Enchirid. cc. LXXXIV  
and cviii). For the other Treatises see note  
below.

1. "Creatorem coeli et terrae" does not appear to have had a place in the formal Creed of any of these Treatises. But yet in each of them St. Augustine enlarges upon Creation as God's work, in commenting upon the first Article.

2. "Unigenitum, id est unicum." De Fide et Symb. In the Enchirid. we have first "unicum," c. xxxiv, as though this were the received word ; afterwards, c. xxxvii, repeating the article St. Augustine writes, as in De Fid. et Symb. "Filius Dei unigenitus, id est unicus." In De Gen. the word is "unigenitus."

5. "Tertio die" not "tertia." De Fid. et Symb. and Enchirid. The words are omitted in De Gen.

6. All three agree in writing "in coelum," not "in coelos."—This remark and the preceding are made in anticipation of a comparison with other Creeds ascribed to St. Augustine.

9. "Sanctam Ecclesiam, utique catholicam:" De Fid. et Symb. but the Catholicam is evidently St. Augustine's comment.

9. 10. I may observe here, in anticipation of what I should otherwise have had to say on these articles in Creeds xvii and xviii, that the Enchiridion pointedly marks *the order* in which articles 8, 9, and 10 stand in the Creed: "Cum autem de Jesu Christo, Filio Dei unico, Domino nostro, quod ad brevitatem confessionis pertinet dixerimus, adjungimus sic credere nos et in Spiritum Sanctum, ut illa Trinitas compleatur, quæ Deus est. *Deinde sancta commemoratur Ecclesia . . . Rectus itaque confessionis ordo poscebat ut Trinitati subjungeretur Ecclesia, tanquam Habitatori domus sua, et Deo templum suum, et Conditori civitas sua.*" c. lvi. Afterwards in introducing art. 10, "*Ideo post commemorationem sanctæ ecclesiæ, in ordine confessionis ponitur Remissio peccatorum.*" c. lxiv.

12. It might be a question, whether our present 12th article had a place in any of the three Creeds now before us. The Tract De Genesi has nothing to shew, whether, in the passage with which it closes the brief summary of Christian doctrine which it contains, ("*Remissa esse poenitentibus priora peccata; et vitam æternam, coelorumque regnum promissum:*") "*vitam æternam*" belongs to the Creed or to the writer only. The Creed of the de Fide et Symbolo would certainly seem to have ended with "*carnis resurrectionem,*" the 11th article. For though towards the close of the comment upon that article, (which is also the close of the comment upon the Creed,) the subject of "*the life everlasting*" is referred to, yet it is referred to only incidentally, while every other article is formally introduced,—ordinarily by "*Credimus et*" or "*Credientes et.*" There is more doubt about the Creed of the Enchiridion. For though here also what we might be disposed to regard as the 12th article is introduced less pointedly than most of the other articles, (see above on articles 9. 10.) yet it twice occurs, and especially the second time, in terms which seem to indicate an established formula: "*Jam*



vero de resurrectione carnis, non sicut quidam revixerunt iterumque sunt mortui, sed *in æternam vitam*, sicut Christi ipsius caro resurrexit. &c." c. lxxxiv. And again, "Per Mediatorem . . . reconciliari nos oportebat Deo usque ad carnis resurrectionem *in vitam æternam*." c. cviii. If therefore the article did form a part of the Creed of these treatises, or of the Enchiridion in particular, it would seem to have been rather as a continuation of art. 11, than as a separate and distinct article by itself, "*Carnis resurrectionem in vitam æternam*." It will be seen, in the next section, that this very form occurs in the Creed of one of St. Augustine's Sermons, and there with still greater appearance of being an established form. Compare Creed xxvii below. Compare also the following commentary of St. Chrysostom's upon the 11th article: He is reminding his congregation of their baptismal confession, *Διὰ τοῦτο, πρότερον εἰπὼν Ἀμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν, τότε ὁμολογεῖς καὶ Νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνο χειραγωγούμενος. Εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἄρκεῖ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἀναστάσεως δεῖξαι τὸ πᾶν, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀναστάντες πάλιν ἀπῆλθον, ὡς οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ, ὡς Λάζαρος, ὡς οἱ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ, κελεύει λέγειν, Καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἵνα μηκέτι θάνατον ὑποπτεύσῃ τις μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐκείνην.* In 1 Cor. Hom. 40, §. 2. And yet in the beginning of the same Homily he had expressed himself in language which, taken alone, might have seemed to imply, (and so Bp. Pearson appears to have understood it<sup>d</sup>), that the Creed to which he was referring ended with the 11th article: *Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν μυστικῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ φοβερῶν. . . . καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ τέλει προστίθεμεν, ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, κελεύοντες λέγειν· ὅτι Πιστεύω εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ταυτῇ βαπτίζομεθα. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ὁμολογῆσαι τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τότε καθιέμεθα εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ναμάτων ἐκείνων.* §. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Creed, vol. ii. p. 458.



## XV.—HIPPO REGIUS. (AFRICA.) Circ. A. D. 400.

ST. AUGUSTINE. *De Symbolo : Sermo ad Catechumenos. Opp.*  
*Tom. 6. Sermones CCXII et CCXIV. Tom. 5.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;  
                   \*                   \*                   \*
2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
    Dominum nostrum ;
3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
    et Virgine Maria ;
4. PASSUS sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus,  
    [mortuus,] (De Symb.) et sepultus ;
5. \*                   \*                   \*  
    Tertio die resurrexit \* \* ;
6. Ascendit in coelum ;  
    Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;
7. Inde venturus judicare (ad judicandos, Serm.  
    CCXIV) vivos et mortuos.
8. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum ;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam ;  
                   \*                   \*                   \*
10. Remissionem peccatorum ;
11. Resurrectionem carnis
12. in vitam æternam. (De Symb.)

4. "Passus" appears to have had a place in the Creeds of the *Sermo de Symbolo* and of Serm. CCXII. "Mortuus" in the *Sermo de Symbolo* is of doubtful authority. "Abest a MSS." Ed. Benedict.

12. It is doubtful whether the Creed of Serm. CCXIV contained Art. 12. On the one hand, after having in substance enuntiated Art. 11, and confirmed it, by quoting 1 Cor. xv. 53, 42, 43, St. Augustine seems to wind up the

whole subject, as though he had come to the end of his exposition, “Hæc est Christiana, hæc catholica, hæc apostolica fides.” And yet he continues, “Credite Christo dicenti ‘Capillus capitis vestri non peribit,’ et, infidelitate depulsa, quanti valeatis potius cogitate. Quid enim nostrum a Redemptore nostro contemni potest, quorum capillus contemni non potest? Aut quomodo dubitabimus quod animæ et carni nostræ *vitam* daturus sit *æternam*, qui pro nobis animam et carnem et suscepit in qua moreretur, et posuit cum moreretur, et recepit ne mors timeretur? Omnia quæ traduntur in Symbolo pro modulo nostro, fratres mei, vestræ exposui Charitati.”

The Sermo de Symbolo agrees with the Enchiridion in writing “*vitam æternam*” as though it were a continuation of Art. II. It seems however to intimate more plainly than the Enchiridion does, that this clause was formally contained in the Creed: “Quomodo ‘Carnis resurrectionem?’ Ne forte putet aliquis quo modo Lazari, ut scias sic non esse, *additum est*, ‘*In vitam æternam.*’” See the corresponding note on Creed XIV, and especially the passage from St. Chrysostom there quoted.

## XVI.—HIPPO REGIUS. (AFRICA.) Circ. A. D. 400.

S. AUGUSTINE (?). *Sermo* CCXIII, *alias De Tempore* 119.

1. 2. as in xv.

3. Qui CONCEPTUS est de Spiritu Sancto,  
Natus ex Virgine Maria;

4. \* \* Sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus,  
\* \* et sepultus;

5. \* \* \*  
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;

6. Ascendit in coelum;  
Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \*;

7. 8. 9. 10. 11. as in xv.

12. \* \* \*

3. This Creed, it will be observed, differs in this Article from all the preceding, in that it has "*conceptus* de Spiritu Sancto," a clause of very unusual occurrence before the 7th century. There can be no doubt but that "*conceptus*" belongs to the Creed, not to the Comment only.

# XVII.—HIPPO REGIUS. (AFRICA.) Circ. A. D. 400.

S. AUGUSTINE (?). *Sermo* CCXV.

1. 2. as in xv.

3. \* \* natum de Spiritu Sancto  
ex (et) Virgine Maria;

4. (Passum?) Sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum,  
(mortuum?) et sepultum;

5. \* \* \*

Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;

6. Ascendit ad coelos;

Sedet ad dexteram (Dei?) Patris \* \* \*;

7. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

8. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum;

10. Remissionem peccatorum,

11. Resurrectionem carnis,

12. Vitam æternam,

9. *Per* sanctam ecclesiam.

\* \* \*

1. There follows immediately "Universorum Creatorem, regem sæculorum, immortalem et invisibilem:" but it is not clear that the first clause, any more than the rest, belongs to the Creed, and not to the Comment.

3. We have at first "*ex* V. M.;" afterwards, on the clause being repeated, "*et* V. M."

4. 6. It is doubtful whether " Passum " and " mortuum " in 4, and " Dei " in 6, belong to the Creed or to the Comment only. Probably to the Comment only.

5. 6. " Tertia die," " ad coelos." See the remarks on the corresponding Articles of Creed xiv.

9. Compare Creeds vii, xviii, xix.

10. 11. 12. 9. That the order in which these Articles are here arranged is the order in which they stood in the Creed commented upon, as it certainly is of the three Creeds which form the subject of the next section, scarcely admits a doubt. " Videtis, charissimi, etiam in ipsis sancti Symboli verbis, quomodo *conclusioni omnium regularum* quæ ad sacramentum Fidei pertinent, quasi supplementum quoddam additum, ut diceretur, Per Sanctam Ecclesiam . . . Unum vestris precibus commendo, ut ab eo qui Catholicus non est, animum et auditum vestrum omnimodis avertatis, quo Remissionem peccatorum, et Resurrectionem carnis, et Vitam æternam, per unam veram et sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam apprehendere valeatis." Compare the extracts relating to the order of these Articles in the remarks on Creeds xiv. 9. 10. xv. 12. and xviii. 10. 11. 12. 9.

#### WRITINGS FALSELY ASCRIBED TO ST. AUGUSTINE.

Immediately following upon the Sermo de Symbolo ad Catechumenos are three other sermons, bearing each the same title, which, though formerly ascribed to St. Augustine, are rejected by the Benedictine Editors as spurious, and with good reason. Their style, as those Editors justly observe, is not his. And they contain references to a persecuting dominance of Arianism, the beginning of which indeed the Church of Western Africa had experience of while St. Augustine yet lived, but the height of which was not reached till some years

after his death. Their date however cannot be far removed from St. Augustine's age.

It will be observed that the Creeds of these sermons, like the Creed last exhibited, all agree in placing the Article on the Church after Articles 10, 11, and 12. In this respect, as well as in others, they differ from the Creeds of St. Augustine's genuine works. And their discrepancy affords an additional argument against the genuineness of the writings in which they occur.

#### XVIII.—AFRICA, probably. Vth Century, probably.

*De Symbolo, Sermones tres. Inter Opera S. August. Tom. 6.*

*Serm. 1. pp. 555—568.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;  
\* \* \*
2. Et in Filium ejus \* \* Jesum Christum ;  
\* \* \*
3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
Ex Virgine Maria ;
4. \* \* Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato,  
\* \* et sepultus ;
5. \* \* \*  
Tertia die a mortuis resurrexit ;
6. *Assumptus* in coelos,  
Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;
7. Venturus est vivos et mortuos judicare.
8. Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum ;
10. Remissionem *omnium* peccatorum
11. *in* carnis resurrectionem,
12. In vitam æternam.
9. Sanctam ecclesiam \* \* .  
\* \* \*



10. 11. 12. 9. That the arrangement, which places the Article relating to the Church last, indicates the actual order of the Creed, and is not merely the arbitrary or accidental arrangement of the Comment, is plain from the manner in which the remarks relating to the Article upon the Church are introduced: “*Sancta Ecclesia, in qua omnis hujus sacramenti terminatur auctoritas,*” &c. Moreover, in introducing the Article on the “Remission of Sins,” the writer had expressly remarked that it follows the Article on “the Holy Ghost,” on which he had last commented: “*Noli injuriam facere illi qui fecit te, ut consequaris ab illo, quod in isto sancto Symbolo sequitur, Remissionem peccatorum.*” Compare the extracts at Articles 9 and 10 of Creed xiv, and at Article 12 of Creed xv.

*Serm. 2. pp. 568—575.*

1—5. as in the preceding Creed.

6. *Assumptus* in coelos,

Sedet ad dexteram (Dei?) Patris \* \* ;

7. 8. as in the preceding Creed.

10. *Remissionem peccatorum* ;

11. *Carnis resurrectionem*

12. *in vita æterna.*

9. \* \* *Ecclesiam* \* \* .

Here also we are told, “*Sacramenti hujus conclusio per Ecclesiam terminatur*” &c. And here also the Article relating to “the life everlasting” unquestionably has a place, though, as it will be observed, with an unusual construction.

*Serm. 3. pp. 575—582.*

The Creed of the third sermon, though less fully expressed, is evidently that of the two preceding, slightly varied. And indeed it is obvious from the style and subject-matter of each, that the three sermons are the work of the same author.

The variations are as follows :

- 6. *assumptus* in coelum ;  
     sedens ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \*.
- 10. *In remissionem peccatorum* ;
- 11. Carnis resurrectionem
- 12. in *vita æterna*.
- 9. Sanctam ecclesiam.

The remaining sermons on the Creed published among St. Augustine's works are all justly regarded as spurious by the Benedictine Editors. One of these, (*Sermo de Symbolo*, Opp. Tom. 6. Appendix,) is familiarly known as the 181st Sermon De Tempore. It is a compilation from the works of various writers, some of whom were long posterior to St. Augustine. Its Creed accordingly bears the impress of a much later age. Of the other discourses, three, though entitled *De Symbolo*, (Tom. 5. Appendix, Sermones CCXXXVII, CCXXXVIII, CCXXXIX,) relate but to a single Article each, and contain besides hardly any traces of the Creed. A fourth (CCXLII) first recites the whole Creed, and then expounds its several Articles. But it is evidently the work of a later age. The Creed indeed which it contains is identical with the Creed of the present day, except that in the 11th Article it has "*Hujus carnis resurrectionem*," like the Creed of Aquileia as given by Rufinus<sup>e</sup>. There are two other sermons, (CCXLIII and CCXLIV,) the Creeds of which

<sup>e</sup> A fragment of this Sermon, together with its Creed, the latter however somewhat varied, is found in an ancient Gallican missal, first

published by Thomasius, and afterwards by Muratori, Liturg. Rom. Vet. Tom. 2. pp. 720 &c. The MS. is probably of the 9th century.

are too complete for St. Augustine's age. In two others (CCXL and CCXLI) the Creed is recorded at length, exactly as it stands at this day. In these the several Articles are ascribed to the Apostles, by whom the writers supposed them severally to have been contributed : " Petrus dixit, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, &c. Andreas dixit, Et in Jesum Christum, &c. Jacobus dixit, Qui conceptus est, &c." Unfortunately the same Article is not by both attributed to the same Apostle. Ascriptions of this sort are not unfrequently met with in manuscripts of the middle ages.

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### CHRYSOLOGUS.

PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS, archbishop of Ravenna, was born at Forum Cornelii (Imola), not far from Ravenna, A. D. 406. He died about A. D. 450. He has left behind him nearly two hundred sermons, of which six, (LVII—LXII,) are short expositions of the Creed.

The text of the Creed is to be gathered in each instance from the Exposition. But it is easily separable from the surrounding context ; and it is the same, with but the most trifling variations, in all the sermons. The text here given is that which forms the basis of the exposition in sermon LVII. The variations supplied by the other sermons are added.

## XIX.—RAVENNA. Circ. A. D. 445.

CHRYSOLOGUS. *Sermones* LVII—LXII. *Venet.* 1750.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem, omnipotentem;  
\* \* \*
2. Et in Christum Jesum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum;
3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
ex Maria Virgine;
4. Qui \* \* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est,  
\* \* et sepultus.
5. \* \* \*  
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;
6. Ascendit in coelos;  
Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \*;
7. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos;
8. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum;
9. Sanctam ecclesiam (CATHOLICAM?)  
\* \* \*
10. Remissionem peccatorum;
11. Carnis resurrectionem;
12. Vitam æternam.

9. "*In sanctam Ecclesiam*," Serm. LXII. "*Catholicam*" occurs nowhere but in LVII; and in LVII there is no reference to it in the Comment; and when presently the clause is repeated, it is repeated without it. It is very doubtful therefore whether "*Catholicam*" really had a place in Chrysologus's Creed.

12. "*Vitam æternam*" occurs in all but LXI, and even there it may well be thought to be glanced at in the Comment.

## ST. LEO THE GREAT.

THE following fragment of the Creed occurs in Leo's celebrated letter to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, against Eutyches. Leo was consecrated bishop of Rome A.D. 440. His letter to Flavian is dated June 13, A.D. 449.

## XX.—ROME. A.D. 449.

S. LEO. *Ad Flav. Ep.* 28. §§. 2. 5. *Opp. Tom. I. Venet. 1753.*

Fidelium universitas profitetur,

1. Credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;

\* \* \*

2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum ;

3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
Ex Maria Virgine ;

4. \* \* crucifixus,  
\* \* et sepultus.

3. Some copies have "Et Maria Virgine."

## MAXIMUS TAURINENSIS.

MAXIMUS, bishop of Turin, flourished during the reigns of Honorius and Theodosius the younger. He was still living in 465, for in that year he was present, it appears, at a council held at Rome.

He has left behind him a considerable number of sermons, from one of which, an Expository Sermon on the Creed, the following formula is collected. It agrees very closely with the Roman Creed, as indicated by Rufinus.



## XXI.—TURIN. Circ. A. D. 460.

MAXIMUS TAURINENSIS. *Homil.* 83. *Opera. Romæ* 1784.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem ;

\* \* \*

2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum ;3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
Ex Maria Virgine ;4. Qui \* \* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est,  
\* \* Et sepultus ;

5. \* \* \*

Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;

6. Ascendit in coelum ;

Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;

7. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos ;

8. Et in Spiritum Sanctum ;

9. Sanctam Ecclesiam \* \* ;

\* \* \*

10. Remissionem peccatorum ;

11. Carnis resurrectionem ;

12. \* \* \*

11. "Carnis resurrectionem. Hic religionis nostræ finis,  
hæc summa credendi est."

## FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS.

FACUNDUS is chiefly known by the active part which he took in the controversy respecting "the Three Chapters," of which he was a strenuous and consistent defender. He was bishop of Hermiane in Western Africa but he resided principally at

Constantinople, where it was his office to watch over the interests of the African Church at court<sup>f</sup>. The Creed which follows is from a short treatise entitled “*Epistola Fidei Catholicæ in defensione trium Capitulorum.*” This Treatise must not be confounded with his larger work addressed to the emperor Justinian, “*Pro defensione trium Capitulorum libri XII.*” Both are to be found in Sirmondî, vol. ii.

It will be observed that the first and second Articles in Facundus’s Creed are cast in the Eastern mould, “*In unum Deum Patrem,*” “*In unum Dominum Jesum Christum,*” while all the other Articles are of the Western type. It is not easy to account for this anomaly. Had the Creed been throughout of the Eastern type, it might have been supposed that Facundus was designedly using a form with which, through long residence in the East, he had become exclusively familiar. But the Western cast of all the other Articles, and indeed of the first and second too, except in that one particular which has been specified, forbids the supposition. On the other hand, we have no other Creed of the African Church, or indeed of any other Church of the West, which in those two Articles agrees with Facundus’s Creed, unless indeed we go back as far as Tertullian.

It might have been thought, again, that while the Creed which Facundus had in view throughout

<sup>f</sup> “*Constantinopoli ut plurimum degit, ubi Africanæ Ecclesiæ res apud imperatorem procuravit.*” Cave.

was that of his own branch of the Church, still he was not solicitous about expressing himself with minute accuracy; and that he used these formulæ of the Eastern branch as being most familiar to the ears of those for whom he was writing; and that possibly too he might be the more disposed to adopt the Eastern formulæ in these particulars, because the Eutychians had in one instance endeavoured to create a prejudice against Leo's famous epistle to Flavian, on this very ground, among others, that in quoting the Creed, as he described it, of the whole Church, he had quoted it according to the Western form, in these two Articles, ("Fidelium universitas profitetur, Credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum &c." See above, p. 49,) whereas the Creed put forth by the Nicene Council ran, "In *unum* Deum Patrem, et in *unum* Jesum Christum<sup>s</sup>." But yet, on the other hand, the manner in which Facundus introduces his Creed would seem to imply that he was anxious to preserve the most minute accuracy: "Symbolum itaque collatio sive pactum quod fit homini cum Deo, Patres nostri Catholici doctores interpretari docuerunt. Quoniam ergo pactum cum Deo fecimus, et sic in uno sanctæ Trinitatis nomine baptizati sumus, si quis unum iota, vel unum apicem ex pacto quod cum Deo iniit dissolverit, sine dubio fidem qua Deo credidit, et ipsum Deum cui credidit, perdidisse convincitur. Qui autem sint qui hoc violaverint pactum mox videbimus, cum ipsius

<sup>s</sup> Vigilius Taps. Contra Eutych. l. 4. §. 1. Bibl. Patrum, Tom. 8. p. 730.

Symboli verba, non quidem in ordinem, prolixitatis vitandæ gratia, sed admodum delibando posuerimus. Principium itaque Symboli hoc est, ‘Credimus in unum Deum &c.’”

It is observable, that presently afterwards he refers to the Creed professed at baptism, and then cites the Western form: “Quoniam revera si veraciter confessi, sive alii pro eis cum baptizarentur professi sunt, credere se *in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus, et in Spiritum Sanctum*, quod Symboli tenet auctoritas, &c.” It is to be noted, however, that in these short baptismal Creeds the Eastern Church did not always adhere to what is otherwise its invariably characteristic formula, “*In unum Deum Patrem*,” “*in unum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*.” At least we have one remarkable exception in the Creed which St. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions as used at the actual administration of baptism. See the Historical Review below, under Art. 8.

Vigilius of Tapsus (circ. A. D. 484) cites the baptismal Creed in precisely the same words as Facundus Hermianensis, except only that he adds “unigenitum” in the 2d Article: “Nec non et illa magna et beata confessio fidei, immo ipsa fides sanctorum, et testamentum quod disposuimus ad Patrem Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, ad sacrum lavacrum regenerationis venientes, confessi sic, *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unigenitum, et in Spiritum Sanctum* <sup>h</sup>.”

<sup>h</sup> De Trinitate, c. 12. in Bibliotheca Patrum, Lugd. Tom. 8. p. 799.

## XXII.—HERMIANE. (AFRICA.) A. D. 547.

FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS. *Epistola Fidei Catholicæ in Defensione trium Capitulorum. Sirmondi Opera, Tom. 2. p. 846.*

1. Credimus in *unum* Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;

\*                      \*                      \*

2. Et in *unum* Dominum,  
Jesum Christum, Filium ejus ;

3. \* \* Natum ex Spiritu Sancto  
Et Maria Virgine ;

4. Qui \* \* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est  
\* \* et sepultus ;

5.                      \*                      \*                      \*  
Tertia die surrexit a mortuis ;

6. Ascendit in coelum ;  
Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;

7. Unde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos ;  
“ et reliqua.”

## VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS.

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS was born and educated in the north of Italy : but having travelled into France, some time before the year 560, he settled at Poitiers, and was ordained priest, and afterwards consecrated bishop, of that Church. He was still living A.D. 600.

He wrote Commentaries on the Apostles' Creed and on the Creed of St. Athanasius. His Commentary on the Athanasian Creed is the earliest record



of that document which has come down to us. From his Commentary on the Apostles' Creed the following form has been collected.

It will be observed that the clause relating to the *Descent into Hell* occurs here,—the first instance of its occurrence since Rufinus's Creed. Venantius was evidently familiar with Rufinus's Exposition, of which he has frequently availed himself.

XXIII.—FRANCE. (POICTIERS.) Circ. A. D. 570.

VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS. *Opera. Tom. I. Rom. 1786.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;  
\* \* \*
2. Et in Jesum Christum unicum Filium ;  
\* \* \*
3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
Ex Maria Virgine ;
4. \* \* Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato ;  
\* \* \*
5. Descendit ad infernum ;  
Tertia die resurrexit \* \* ;
6. Ascendit in cœlum ;  
Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;
7. \* \* Judicaturus vivos et mortuos ;
8. Credo in Sancto Spiritu ;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam ;  
\* \* \*
10. Remissionem peccatorum ;
11. Resurrectionem carnis.
12. \* \* \*

8. The change of case from the accusative, of Articles

1 and 2, to the ablative, might have been suspected to be a transcriber's error, but that it occurs again in the Commentary: "Ergo una Divinitas in Trinitate, quia dixit Symbolum, 'Credo in Deum Patrem, et in Jesum Christum, et in Spiritu Sancto.'" The same change of case occurs in Rufinus's Creed, if the reading which I have adopted be the true one; and that it is so, its occurrence here, in the midst of continual references to Rufinus's Exposition, is a strong confirmation. See the remarks on Creed x. Artt. 1. 2. 8. It occurs also in Creeds xxiv and xxvi.

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### ENARRATIO PSEUDO-ATHANASIANA.

THE following Formula is from a commentary on the Creed falsely ascribed to St. Athanasius, published by Blanchini from a very ancient MS. under the title of *Enarratio Pseudo-Athanasiana* in *Symbolum &c. &c. Veronæ* 1732. See Walch, (to whom I am indebted for it,) pp. 74 and 39. The MS. had lost some of its leaves. Hence the mutilated state of the Creed.

Walch remarks that this Creed, though wanting in external indications of its age, beyond indeed the apparent date of the MS. which contains it, is obviously of very great antiquity. I have placed it next after the Creed of Venantius Fortunatus, with which substantially it harmonizes, although it has peculiarities which distinguish it from that and from every other Creed which we meet with. It will be observed that here also we have the case changed in the 8th Article from the accusative of the 1st to the ablative.

## XXIV.—Country and age uncertain.

*Enarratio* PSEUDO-ATHANASIANA in *Symbolum*. *Blanchini*, apud  
*Walch*, *Bibliotheca Symbolica*. No. LV. p. 74.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem, omnipotentem ;

\*                      \*                      \*

2.                      \*                      \*                      \*

3.                      \*                      \*                      \*

. . . ex Maria Virgine ;

4. Qui \* \* sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est,  
       \* \* et sepultus ;

5. Descendit in inferna ;  
       Die tertio resurrexit \* \* ;

6. Ascendit in coelos ;  
       Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;

7. Inde venturus est judicaturus *de vivis et mor-*  
       *tuis* ;

8. Credo in Spiritu Sancto ;

9. Sanctam *matrem* ecclesiam.

10. 11. 12. are wanting.

8. Compare Creeds x. xxiii. xxvi.

## EUSEBIUS GALLUS.

THE Creed which follows is gathered from two expository Homilies, which, together with many other Sermons usually forming one collection with them, have been ascribed to various authors,—Eusebius Emissenus, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Eusebius Gallus or Gallicanus, Eucherius bishop of Lyons, Hilary bishop of Arles, Cæsarius bishop of Arles,

Faustus bishop of Riez. Baronius in his *Annals*, Tom. 6. ad Annum 441, warmly espouses the claims of Eucherius: but towards the end of his 12th volume he retracts this opinion, ascribing the Sermons to Eusebius, whose name he had afterwards found in a list of Gallic bishops, though without any further notice of him or of the age in which he lived. The authorship of the Sermons is discussed at considerable length by Oudin, (*Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiæ antiquis*, Tom. 1. pp. 389 &c.) Judging from the uniformity of their style, he is of opinion that they are the productions of one and the same author. And if this be so, thus much may be collected respecting that person: first, that he wrote subsequently to the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, for they imply that the Eutychian heresy was prevalent in the West, which it could hardly have been earlier; secondly, that he belonged to the Western, not to the Eastern Church; thirdly, that he had once been abbot of Lerins, and that he afterwards became a bishop of some diocese in the province of Arles. These facts at once set aside the claims of the two first Eusebii, Emissenus and Cæsariensis, for they lived too early, and they were Orientals; and of Eucherius and Hilary, for they also both died before A. D. 451.

On the whole, Oudin decides in favour of Faustus, with whose semi-Pelagian views many passages in the Sermons seem to harmonize. If Faustus were the author, their date must be placed somewhere about the close of the 5th century. Faustus,

who had formerly been abbot of Lerins, was made bishop of Riez A. D. 475 ; and he appears to have been still living in 494. Riez however was not in the province of Arles, but of Narbonnensis Secunda, which bordered upon it<sup>k</sup>.

It is indeed of little consequence to our present purpose who was the author of the Sermons in question, otherwise than as our ignorance leaves us in doubt as to their exact date. On this point it is to be regretted that we cannot speak with certainty.

For the Creed collected from them, supplying in one what is wanting in the other, approaches more nearly to the Creed of the present day than any which we have yet met with, or shall meet with till the middle of the seventh century. This may induce a suspicion that Oudin, in ascribing the Sermons to Faustus Regiensis, has placed them too early ; and I have accordingly ventured to assign to the Creed a later date. Here we first meet with the clause relating to the “ *Communion of Saints.*” The 3rd and 6th Articles also stand as in the Creed of the present day. Of this completeness we have had in the former but one previous instance (xvi), and in the latter not one.

## XXV.—FRANCE. (ARLES.) Probably the VIth Century.

*From two of the Sermons ascribed to EUSEBIUS GALLUS, Bibliotheca Patrum. Colon. Tom. 5. pars 3. p. 554.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;

<sup>k</sup> Bingham, ix. 6. 5.



- \*            \*            \*
2. Et in Filium ejus \* \* Jesum Christum,  
Dominum nostrum ;
  3. Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto,  
Natus ex Maria Virgine ;
  4. \* \* \* Crucifixus,  
mortuus, et sepultus ;
  5. \*            \*            \*  
Tertia die resurrexit \* \* ;
  6. Ascendit ad coelos ;  
Sedet ad dexteram DEI Patris OMNIPOTENTIS ;
  7. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos ;  
Hom. 2. *de vivis et mortuis.*
  8. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;
  9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ;  
SANCTORUM COMMUNIONEM ;
  10. Remissionem peccatorum ;
  11. Carnis resurrectionem ;
  12. Vitam æternam.
- 

## THE CREED IN THE CODEX LAUDIANUS.

HITHERTO the Creeds which have been brought before us have been obtained, with but few exceptions, from the writings of well known authors; and their age and country consequently have been ascertainable for the most part with sufficient accuracy. From this time however another source is opened to us, though one which does not always furnish such precise and reliable information as to

date. The Creed now begins to be met with in manuscripts which are still extant ; occurring sometimes in a detached form, and without any connexion with the other contents of the manuscript ; at others in its place in baptismal offices, or the offices preparatory to baptism ; at others again, together with the Lord's Prayer and the Hymns used in the Church's service, (the *Te Deum* and others,) at the end of Psalters. Such Creeds may ordinarily be presumed to have been in use in the countries where, and the ages when, the manuscripts which contain them were severally written : though at the same time we must be careful lest we conclude hastily that they were in every case the *normal* Creeds of those countries and ages.

One of the earliest of these manuscript Creeds in existence, possibly the very earliest, is found, in a detached form, at the end of the famous copy of the Acts of the Apostles, given by Abp. Laud to the University of Oxford, and preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is written, as is the copy of the Acts to which it is appended, in uncial characters, though with darker ink and by another hand. Both however, as far as the handwriting is concerned, appear to belong to the same age.

What that age is has been variously conjectured. Hearne, who early in the last century printed the whole manuscript, letter for letter, as it stands in the original, giving a fac-simile of the Creed, supposes the 8th century to be the date ; Griesbach the 7th or 8th ; Wetstein the 7th. The last mentioned critic does not hesitate to speak of it, and

certainly with some show of reason, as the identical copy which was used by Bede; having been led to this conclusion by the circumstance that it has all those irregular readings which, in his *Retractation* on the Acts, Bede points out as being in his copy<sup>1</sup>, while they are found in no other copy known to be in existence<sup>m</sup>. Bede died A. D. 735, and his *Retractations* were written after 731.

In the absence of any surer clue than is afforded by the text itself, I shall venture to adopt the earliest of the above-mentioned dates, and assign the Creed to the beginning of the seventh century. This is, at any rate, the latest period at which a text so incomplete can be considered to have been in use, unless in cases, probably not uncommon, where ancient forms were continued in ancient services, long after they had ceased to be the normal forms of the Church in which they were used.

The country to which this Creed belongs is as uncertain as its age. It appears, by a note at the end, to have been, at a very early period of its history, in the possession of some one residing in Sardinia. The scribe who wrote it, judging from its Latinity, was evidently but imperfectly acquainted with Latin. He would seem to have written from memory a form which he had learnt inaccurately in a language not his own. I give it as it may be presumed it would have stood, if his

<sup>1</sup> "In quo etiam (libello) quædam quæ in Græco sive aliter, seu plus aut minus, posita vidimus, breviter commemorare curavi-

mus." Bede, *Liber Retract.* in *Actt. Apostt.* *Præfatio*.

<sup>m</sup> See Wetstenii *Prolegg.* in *Acta Apostt.* N. T. Tom. 2. p. 449.

CREDO IN DŌM PATREM  
OMNIPOTENTEM  
ET IN XPO I HŪ FILIUM EIS  
UNICUM DOMINUM NOS  
TRUM QUI NATUS EST  
DE SPASCO ET MARIA VIR  
GINE QUI SUB PONTO PI  
LATO CRUCIFIXUS EST  
ET SEPULTUS TERTIA  
DIE RESURREXIT A MOR  
TUIS ASCENDIT IN CAELIS  
SED ET AD DEXTERA PATRIS  
CUM DEUENTURUS EST  
IUDICARE VIVOS ET MOR  
TUOS ET IN SPASCO SCA  
ECCLESIA REMISSIONE  
PECCATORUM CARNIS  
RESURRECTIONIS





memory had been truer to the original. A facsimile is added.

Attention was first publicly drawn to this Creed by Abp. Usher in his *Treatise De Symbolis* <sup>n</sup>.

XXVI.—Country unknown. VIIth Century probably.

CODEX LAUDIANUS. (*Gr.* 35 *Laud.*) *Biblioth. Bodl.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ;

\* \* \*

2. Et in Christum Jesum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum ;

3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
Et Maria Virgine ;

4. Qui sub Pontio Pilato \* \* crucifixus est,  
\* \* et sepultus ;

5. \* \* \*

Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;

6. Ascendit in coelos ;

Sedet ad dexteram \* \* Patris \* \* ;

7. Unde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos :

8. Et in Spiritu Sancto ;

9. Sancta Ecclesia \* \* ;

\* \* \*

10. Remissione peccatorum ;

11. Carnis resurrectione.

12. \* \* \*

<sup>n</sup> Usher's Works, vol. vii. p. 304. Bp. Fell, in his notes on St. Cyprian, Ep. 70, describes this as a *Greek Creed written in Anglo-Saxon letters*; evidently confound-

ing it with the Creed in king Athelstan's Psalter, to be mentioned hereafter. His mistake is observable, as the Bodleian MS. was easily within his reach.

1. In the original "omnipotem."
  2. "In Christo Jesu, Filium ejus unicum."
  6. "In caelis." "Ad dextera."
  11. "Resurrectionis."
- 

## CREEDS IN ANCIENT SACRAMENTARIES.

HITHERTO we have not met with a single Creed complete according to the form now in use. Towards the middle of the 7th century, however, instances begin to occur, in ancient Sacramentaries, of forms all but identical with our own, though still associated with others in one and the same document, which vary from them sufficiently to show that that form was not yet stereotyped, so to speak, as it has been for the last thousand years.

I will place together the Creeds collected out of two of these Sacramentaries, both belonging to the ancient Gallican Church, and in use there before the Roman order was made to supplant the Gallican, that is, before the time of Charlemagne<sup>n</sup>.

The former of these Sacramentaries was first published by Mabillon, from a manuscript which he found at Bobio, in the north of Italy, and which he supposed to have been written about the middle of the 7th century, and to have been in use in the

<sup>n</sup> "Advertere convenit, Ordinem Romanum, qui apud Hispanos sæculo undecimo, insequenti apud Hibernos, receptus est, in Gallia vigere cœpisse jam inde a tempore Caroli M. sive id effecerint Ro-

mani Pontifices, qui alias omnes ecclesias ad unum cum Romana concentum, quantum in eis fuit, adducere curarunt, sive ad eos demerendos id voluerit Carolus." Mabill. De Liturg. Gal. l. i. c. 3.

province of Maxima Sequanorum, of which Besançon was the capital°. It contains three Creeds, one of them occurring in the "Traditio Symboli"<sup>p</sup> in the service preparatory to baptism, one, an interrogative Creed, used in the stipulations at the actual time of baptism, and one appended, without connexion with what goes before, at the end of the manuscript.

The last mentioned is one of those Creeds to which I have already alluded, in which the several

° Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*. Tom. 1. pars 2. pp. 273 &c. It is reprinted by Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*. Tom. 2. pp. 766 &c.

<sup>p</sup> The "Traditio Symboli" was the solemn delivery of the Creed to the catechumens to be learnt by them before their baptism. When learnt, they were required to recite it, and their recital of it was the "Redditio Symboli." For both the one and the other stated days, though varying in different Churches, were appointed.

In the French, Spanish, and Milanese Churches, the day appointed for the "Traditio Symboli" was Palm Sunday; in the Roman Church, the fourth Wednesday in Lent; in the African Church, the third Saturday in Lent. The "Redditio Symboli" took place in the Roman Church on the morning of Easter Eve. *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, Muratori, Tom. 1. p. 563. In the African, on the eighth day after the "Traditio Symboli." See Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, l. 1.

c. 1. Art. XI.

Rufinus mentions the custom which prevailed at Rome for the catechumens to rehearse the Creed publicly, in the hearing of the whole Church. And this he assigns as one cause of the immunity from change which the Roman Creed had enjoyed. In *Symb.* §. 3. St. Augustine's touching account of the rehearsal of the Creed by Victorinus is well worth referring to. *Confess.* l. 8. c. 2.

The Creed used in the 'Traditio Symboli' was not unfrequently the Nicene: and in some Churches this was rehearsed first in Greek, then in Latin. And Greek Creeds written in Roman letters are still to be met with in the ancient Sacramentaries,—for instance, in the Gelasian Sacramentary. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Tom. 1. p. 540. Other examples will be found in Martene, l. 1. c. 1. Artt. XI and XII. The Nicene Creed, as given in the Gelasian Sacramentary, will be added in the Appendix.

Articles are ascribed each to its supposed contributor in the Apostolic college. It varies a good deal from the form now in use, and is probably a transcript from some earlier document. Its co-existence with the other two Creeds in the same manuscript, which are much more complete, is especially worthy of notice, as holding out a caution against hasty conclusions as to the state of the text in any particular age, drawn from Creeds, the handwriting of which indeed may belong to that age, but which, after all, may be only transcripts from Creeds of an earlier date.

The first of the following Creeds is the one which is appended at the end of the manuscript. I give it exactly as it stands, as a specimen of the manner in which the tradition mentioned by Rufinus was frequently improved upon.

The second is the declarative Creed, which was delivered to the catechumens preparing for baptism. It is accompanied, as is usual, by a brief exposition, which is remarkable, especially considering the part of Christendom to which the Sacramentary belongs, as being silent as to the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, when speaking of his procession from the Father: "Hic est Spiritus Sanctus, qui egreditur a Patre, de quo ait Salvator beatis Apostolis suis, 'Ite baptizate &c.'"

The Creed indicated by this exposition varies in some particulars from the Creed which the Exposition professes to comment upon; the principal being that Art. 2 is in the usual form, "Et in Jesum

Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum," and that the clause in Art. 9 relating to the Communion of Saints is wanting. In all probability the Exposition is more ancient than the Creed to which it is appended.

The interrogative Creed scarcely varies at all from the corresponding Creed in our own Liturgy.

XXVII—FRANCE. VIIth Century.

*Sacramentarium Gallicanum, Codex Bobiensis. Mabillon, Museum Italicum. Tom. I. pars 2. p. 396.*

1. Petrus dixit, Credo in Deum Patrem, omnipotentem ;  
\* \* \*
2. Joannes dixit, Credo in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
*Deum et Dominum nostrum ;*
3. Jacobus dixit, \* \* Natum de Maria Virgine  
*per Spiritum Sanctum ;*
4. Andreas dixit, Passum sub Pontio Pilato,  
crucifixum  
. . . et sepultum ;
5. Philippus dixit, Descendit ad inferna ;  
Thomas dixit, Tertia die resurrexit \* \* ;
6. Bartholomæus dixit, Ascendit in coelos ;  
Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;
7. Matthæus dixit, Inde venturus judicare vivos  
et mortuos ;
8. Jacobus Alphæi dixit, Credo in Spiritum  
Sanctum ;
9. Simon Zelotes dixit, Credo in Ecclesiam  
sanctam \* \* ;



\* \* \*

10. Judas Jacobi dixit, *Per baptismum sanctum*  
     *remissionem peccatorum;*  
 11. Matthias dixit, Carnis resurrectionem  
 12. *in vitam æternam.*

“Hoc est quod ad duodecinarium numerum  
 Apostolorum cum magna cautela collectum est, et  
 credentibus adsignatum.”

2. “Deum.” Compare Creeds VIII and XXXII.

3. “Per Spiritum Sanctum.” Compare Creed XIV.

11. 12. “Carnis resurrectionem in vitam æternam.”

Compare Creeds XIV and XV.

It will be observed, that the 11th and 12th Articles are  
 here regarded as one. The number twelve is completed  
 by dividing Article 5 into two.

## XXVIII.—FRANCE. VIIth Century.

*Sacramentarium Gallicanum, Codex Bobiensis. Mabillon,*  
*Museum Italicum. Tom. 1. pars. 2. p. 312.*

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
     CREATOREM COELI ET TERRÆ;  
 2. Credo in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus *uni-*  
     *genitum, sempiternum.*  
     \* \* \*  
 3. Conceptum de Spiritu Sancto,  
     Natum ex Maria Virgine;  
 4. Passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum,  
     Mortuum, et sepultum;  
 5. Descendit ad inferna;  
     Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;  
 6. Ascendit ad coelos;  
     Sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis;

7. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.
8. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ;  
Sanctorum communionem ;
10. Remissionem peccatorum ;
11. Carnis resurrectionem ;
12. Vitam æternam.

XXIX. XXX.—FRANCE. VIIIth Century.

*Missale Gallicanum Vetus, Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana.*  
pp. 339, 348.

The other Sacramentary, first published by Thomasius<sup>q</sup>, and republished by both Mabillon<sup>r</sup> and Muratori<sup>s</sup>, is probably of a somewhat later date. It contains three Creeds, two of them used “in traditione Symboli,” and the third an interrogative baptismal Creed. The latter is altogether *sui generis*, and will be given among the interrogative Creeds hereafter.

XXIX.

The first of these Creeds is identical with the corresponding formula in the Codex Bobiensis, given in the preceding section, (xxviii,) even to the peculiarities of Art. 2,—

2. Credo et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus  
unigenitum, sempiternum,—

\*                      \*                      \*

peculiarities which are again repeated in the Exposition which follows. The occurrence of the

<sup>q</sup> Codices Sacramentorum, Missale Gallicanum Vetus.

<sup>r</sup> De Liturgia Gallicana.

<sup>s</sup> Liturgia Romana Vetus.

same form in two independent documents would seem to imply that they were to some extent established:

### XXX.

The second Creed agrees with the Creed of our own day in Art. 2, but it has other peculiarities of its own.

6. *Ascendit victor ad coelos* ;

\*                      \*                      \*

8. *Credo in Sancto Spiritu*, (although the accusative is used in Artt. 1 and 2.)

9. *Sancta Ecclesia Catholica*.

8. Compare Creeds x, xxiii, xxiv, xxvi.

### PIRMINIUS.

THOUGH the Creeds described in the three sections immediately preceding are nearly identical with the Creed of the present day, and though out of them, taken together, one might be constructed which is entirely so, yet none of them is so entirely taken separately.

The earliest Creed which I have met with entirely identical with our present formula occurs in a short treatise published by Mabillon from an ancient manuscript entitled, "*Libellus Pirminii de singulis libris canonicis scarapsus*†."

† Mabillon *Analecta*. Tom. 4.  
It is not easy to say what is the meaning of *scarapsus*. Fabricius, who has a brief notice of Pirminius, in his *Bibliotheca Latina*

*Mediæ et infimæ ætatis*, explains it by "*collectus*," "*hoc est, ex universo sacro codice collectus*." Possibly it is only a mis-reading for "*scriptus*."

There is a life of this Pirminius in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, collected by D'Achery, and edited by him conjointly with Mabillon<sup>u</sup>. His birthplace is not known: but he is stated to have left his native country, and to have gone into France, and thence into Germany, where, by his zeal and diligence in preaching, he revived the faith of numbers, who were in danger of falling back into paganism. He founded several monasteries, in one of which, Hornbach, on the confines of the dioceses of Triers and Metz, he died about the year 758.

The Creed occurs twice in Pirminius's Treatise. In the first instance the story is repeated of the several Articles having been contributed each by a several Apostle, and each Article is assigned to its supposed contributor.

The other Creed, which is identical with the former, is given as it was used in the baptismal service.

### XXXI.—FRANCE. Circ. A. D. 750.

PIRMINIUS in *Mabillon's Analecta*. Tom. 4. p. 575.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem,  
Creatorem coeli et terræ ;
2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum ;
3. Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto,  
Natus ex Maria Virgine ;
4. Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus,

<sup>u</sup> Tom. 3. pars 2. pp. 136 &c.

- Mortuus et sepultus ;  
 5. Descendit ad inferna ;  
     Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;  
 6. Ascendit ad coelos ;  
     Sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;  
 7. Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.  
 8. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;  
 9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ;  
     Sanctorum communionem ;  
 10. Remissionem peccatorum ;  
 11. Carnis resurrectionem ;  
 12. Vitam æternam.
- 

### ETHERIUS UXAMENSIS.

ALTHOUGH we have at length, in Pirminius's Treatise, met with the text of the Creed complete as it stands at this day, still we cannot yet regard that text as uniformly *established*.

The following Creed from the protest presented by Etherius, bishop of Osma, and Beatus, presbyter of Astorga, against Elipandus, the heretical archbishop of Toledo, A. D. 785, is a proof of this<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> The following is the account given of the heresy of Elipandus by Alcuin, who took a prominent part in opposing it: "Nec sibi sufficebat tantummodo Christum, qui de Virgine natus est, negare proprium esse Filium Dei, sed etiam hunc eundem non consentit verum esse Deum; sed novo et inaudito sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ nomine *nun-*

*cupativum* Deum nominare illum non timet, dividens Christum in duos filios, unum vocans proprium, alterum adoptivum, et in duos Deos, unum verum Deum, alterum nuncupatum Deum." Quoted in the Preface to the two Books of Etherius and Beatus in the Bibliotheca Patrum. Lugdun. Tom. 13.



## XXXII.—SPAIN. (OSMA.) A. D. 785.

ETHERIUS et BEATUS. *Adv. Elipand.* l. i. in *Bibliotheca Patrum.*  
*Lugd. Tom.* 13. p. 360.

“Surgamus,” thus Etherius and Beatus introduce their Creed, “Surgamus ergo cum ipsis Apostolis, et fidei nostræ Symbolum, quem (quod) tradiderunt nobis brevi compendio recitemus, quicumque unum Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptisma habemus; et fidem in qua baptizati sumus, in hac perversitate et duplicitate hæreticorum, non negemus; sed, sicut corde credimus, ore proprio proferamus publice, et dicamus,

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;

\*                      \*                      \*

2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
*Deum* et Dominum nostrum;

3. Qui \* \* natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
 Et Maria Virgine;

4. Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus,  
 . . . et sepultus;

5. Descendit ad inferna;  
 Tertia die resurrexit *vivus* a mortuis;

6. Ascendit in cœlos;  
 Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis;

7. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.

8. Credo in Spiritum sanctum;

9. Sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam;

\*                      \*                      \*

10. Remissionem *omnium* peccatorum;

11. Carnis resurrectionem;

12. Et vitam æternam.

Ecce fidem Apostolicam in qua baptizati sumus, quam credimus et tenemus.

2. "Deum." Compare Creeds viii and xxvii.
5. "Resurrexit vivus." Compare Creed xiii.
10. "Omnium peccatorum." Compare Creeds xviii and XLIX.

GREEK CREED IN ANGLO-SAXON LETTERS IN THE  
SO-CALLED PSALTER OF KING ATHELSTAN.

THIS is another of the ancient Manuscript Creeds to which Archbishop Usher was the first to call attention, (*De Symbolis*, Works, vol. 7. p. 304.) It occurs at the end of a manuscript volume in the Cotton Library, (Galba A. xviii,) described at the beginning, in handwriting to which the date 1542 is attached, as "*Psalterium Regis Ethelstani*:" a designation, however, which, as far as the Psalter at least is concerned, in all probability involves an anachronism. For Athelstan died A. D. 941, and the Psalter, there is good reason to believe, is of later date.

The volume consists of three portions.

1. The first is a Calendar, with a table of cycles extending from A. D. 532 to A. D. 1008.

Abp. Usher concluded from a rule subjoined to this calendar showing how to find the year of our Lord, illustrated by an example for the year 703<sup>y</sup>,

<sup>y</sup> The rule and its example are as follows: *quotus sit annus Incarnationis Domini*:

"*Argumentum ad inveniendum*

"*Si nosse vis quot sint [anni]*

that 703 was the date of the whole manuscript, and consequently of the Creed contained in it. And this date has been adopted implicitly by subsequent writers.

It appears however on examination that the three portions of which the manuscript consists must have been executed at different periods. And though the last portion, which is the one containing the Creed, is probably the earliest, yet the date of the Calendar, instead of being 703, must be at any rate subsequent to 901; for in the month of October it notes the 26th as the anniversary of the death of Alfred, (VII Kl. Ælfred rex obiit.) Alfred died A. D. 900 or 901<sup>2</sup>. This portion of the manuscript therefore was certainly written after the commencement of the 10th century, and probably before A. D. 1008, to which time the calculations

ab incarnatione Domini, scito quot fuerunt ordines indictionum; ut puta v anno Tyberii Cæsaris, xlv. Hos per xv multiplica: Fiunt dcxc. Adde semper regulares xij, quia iiij indictionum secundum Dionissium Dominus natus est; indictionum quoque cujus volueris; ut puta in præsentī, id est fiunt dcciii. Isti sunt anni nativitatis Domini." fo. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> The year of Alfred's death is variously dated, though there appears to be no discrepancy as to the day, that being secured by its commemoration in the Church's calendar. Thus the Saxon Chronicle in the year 901 records, "Her forth-ferde Ælfred Æthelwulfing,

six nihtum ær Ealra haligra mæsan." "This year departed Alfred son of Athelwulf, six nights before the feast of All Saints." On the other hand, Asserius, who lived in his court and wrote his life, and who himself died in 909, places it in 900: "Anno dcccc. Alfredus veridictus, vir in bello per omnia strenuissimus, rex occidentalium Saxonum nobilissimus, prudens vero et religiosus atque sapientissimus, hoc anno cum magna suorum dolore viam universitatis adiit, die VII Kal. Novemb. anno regni sui XXIX et dimidio, anno vero ætatis suæ LI, Indictione III." Higden also places it in 900.

of the table of cycles above referred to reach. The rule for finding the year of our Lord, with its example fitted to the year 703, was in all probability copied from an earlier document. And it is a remarkable coincidence, that Bede mentions, in his Treatise *De Temporum ratione*<sup>a</sup>, that some of his brethren who had been at Rome only two years before that period, (A. D. 701,) had brought home with them the date from the time of our Lord's Passion, which it seems was then publicly notified there, for the information of the people, every year on the feast of the Nativity. What more likely than that at the same time they had brought with them the rule for calculating that date and its correlative, the date from the Incarnation, (as yet by no means in common use;) and that the rule in the Athelstan manuscript, with its example fitted to the year 703, is a copy of the rule as it was first given by them to their brethren in England?

2. The second portion of the manuscript bears every appearance, in the style of its handwriting,

<sup>a</sup> "Anno ab ejus incarnatione, juxta Dionysium, septingentesimo primo, Indictione quattadecima, fratres nostri, qui tunc fuere Romæ, hoc modo se in Natali Domini in cereis sanctæ Mariæ scriptum fuisse, et inde descripsisse, referebant, 'A passione Domini nostri Jesu Christi anni sunt DCLXVIII.'" c. 47. De annis Dominicæ Incarnationis. The era of the Incarnation, or the "Year of our Lord," though first sug-

gested by Dionysius, as Bede notes in the chapter referred to, in the year 532, (the year, by the way, with which the table of cycles in king Athelstan's manuscript begins,) was not brought into common use, till about two centuries afterwards. It was not *established* till the time of pope Eugenius IV, A. D. 1431. Hales' *Analysis of Chronology*, vol. 1. pp. 188, 189.

of a later age. It belongs probably to the latter half of the 11th century.

It is written in the Roman character, and contains a Psalter with the usual hymns, and, together with these, the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creeds. The Apostles' Creed is complete as at present.

3. The third portion appears, judging from the character of the handwriting and its ornaments, to belong to an earlier age than either of the former,—probably to the 9th century,—possibly to the earlier part of the 9th century<sup>b</sup>.

It contains various collects in Latin, written in the Anglo-Saxon character, and, appended to these, a short Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Seraphic Hymn or Tersanctus, also in the Anglo-Saxon character, but the language Greek. With these the manuscript ends. The Apostles' Creed is the one which is the subject of the present section.

This Creed, it will be observed, is almost identical with that of Marcellus of Ancyra of the middle of the 4th century; and that not merely substantially, but verbally; the only material point of difference being that it lacks the 12th Article, which Marcellus's Creed contains. It is obviously another instance of an ancient form continued, probably for occasional use, long after that form had been superseded as the Church's normal form. And the cir-

<sup>b</sup> This is said on the authority of Sir Frederick Madden, to whom I am indebted for the opinion expressed respecting the ages of the

other portions of the manuscript, as well as for the notice of Alfred's obit in the Calendar.



cumstance of its being in a language which was to a great extent unknown would the more contribute to stereotype it<sup>c</sup>. The custom of rehearsing the Creed in Greek in that part of the service preparatory to baptism, which was called the "*Traditio Symboli*," long continued in use in the Churches of the West. Several examples of Greek Creeds, though usually the Constantinopolitan, still remain in ancient Sacramentaries. And these are written, as in the present instance, not in Greek characters, but in the letters used in the surrounding context of the manuscripts in which they occur<sup>d</sup>. The Creed in question may, not improbably, have been thus used in the "*Traditio Symboli*."

<sup>c</sup> Greek however was not wholly unknown to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Bede, who was himself acquainted with it, says that Theodore of Tarsus, (who was archbishop of Canterbury from A. D. 669 to A. D. 690,) and his fellow-labourer Hadrian left disciples behind them,—still living when he wrote his history,—who were as well acquainted with Latin and Greek as with their own tongue. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 4. c. 2. This however was obviously not the case with the scribe who wrote the Greek in the Athelstan MS.

<sup>d</sup> See e. g. the Gelasian Sacramentary, Muratori, Tom. I. p. 540, and others in Martene *De Antiquis Eccles. Ritibus*, l. I. c. I. Art. XII. Ordd. 3, 4, and 5, and Art. XI. §. 16.

On the use of Greek formulæ

in Latin services there are some interesting remarks in Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 27 &c. The short Litany, "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison," remains to this day.

The Litany in the Athelstan MS. is Greek, only in its language. In substance it belongs to the Western Church. The invocation of saints was not practised in the Eastern litanies. In the West, the direct form, "*ora pro nobis*," is supposed to have been used for the first time in the 8th century, instead of the indirect, "*Oret*." See Palmer's *Origines Liturgg.* vol. i. ch. 2. §. 3. pp. 277, &c. (2nd edit.). Instances of the indirect form, intermixed with the direct, are given in Soame's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 219, 220.

XXXIII.—ENGLAND<sup>e</sup>. IXth Century.*From a MS. in the British Museum. Galba A. xviii.*

1. Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα·

\* \* \*

2. Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,  
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν·3. Τὸν \* \* \* γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου  
καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου·4. Τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα,  
\* \* \* ταφέντα·

5. \* \* \*

Τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν·

6. Ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς·

Καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ \* \* τοῦ Πατρὸς \* \*

7. Ὃθεν ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·

8. Καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον·

9. Ἄγ[ιαν ἐκκλησίαν·]

\* \* \*

10. Ἀφесιν ἁμαρτιῶν·

11. Σαρκὸς ἀνάστα[σιν.]

12. \* \* \*

Ἀμήν.

2. Usher writes μονογεννητὸν Κύριον : but μονογενῆ, τὸν Κύριον was obviously meant.

It may interest the reader to place before him the whole of the Greek portion of the manuscript as it stands in the original :

HIC INCIPIUNT GRECORUM LÆTANIE :

Χρε epacus onimin.

<sup>e</sup> I assign this Creed to England, on the supposition of its having been in use in the English Church.

Aie Michael euxe yperimon.  
 Aie Gabriel euxe yperimon.  
 Aie Raphael euxe yperimon.  
 Aie Maria euxe yperimon.  
 Aie Petre euxe yperimon.  
 Aie Paule euxe yperimon, et rl.  
 Pantas yaies euxe yperimon.  
 Ileos genuce fise ymas cyrie.  
 Ileos genuce lutrose ymas cyrie.  
 Apopantes cacu lutrose ymas cyrie.  
 Diatus taurusu lutrose ymas cyrie.  
 Amarthuluse paraca lumen epacus onimin.  
 Inagrinin dosisse paraca lumen epacus onimin.  
 Ygie tutheuse paraca lumen epacus onimin.  
 Ao annos tutheu oerronan tin amartias tu cosmu  
 eleison imas.

HIC INCIPIT PATER NOSTER IN LINGUA GRECORUM.

Pater imon oynys. uranis agias tituto onomansu. elthetu  
 ebasilias genittheto totheli mansu. os senu uranu. keptasgis  
 tonartonimon. tonepiussion. dos simin simero. keaffi simin.  
 taoffilemata imon oske imis affiomen tasophiletas imon  
 kemies ininkis imos. isperasmon. ala ryse imas apatu  
 poniru.

CREDO  $\overline{\text{GR.}}$

Pistheu istheu patera panto cratero ceis criston ihū yon  
 aututon mono genton quirion imon tongenegenta cepneu-  
 matus agiu cemariatis parthenu ton epipontio pilatu stau-  
 rothenteeta finta tetríte imera anastanta egni cron anaunta  
 istos uranos catimeron indexia tupatros oten erchete crine-  
 zon tas cenicros ceis preuma agion agria fis inamartion  
 sarcos anasta. amen.

s̄cs s̄cs s̄cs

Agios agios agios cyrus otheos sabaoth plyris urano  
 cegastisdoxis.

FAC-SIMILE OF A GREEK CREED IN ANGLO-SAXON LETTERS,  
IN KING ATHELSTAN'S PSALTER, BRITISH MUSEUM.  
(GALBA. A. XVIII.)

**P** ischea ischeu pattha parto epafro  
ceis epaston ihu yon aratton rono  
genton quiuon imon tongfiegita  
sepne-umatus agia cfm apuatis patthihia  
ton spipontio pilatu stau pothen tæta  
pintu æhtite imfha anastanta fgn  
cpon anaunta iscos upanos catimfpon  
mdexia tupa cpo sothi fhehtæ epintzon  
tas cfmepos ceis ppenma arion agua  
pis ma mapiton sapcos anasta amr





GREEK CREED CONTAINED IN A MS. PSALTER OF POPE GREGORY, IN THE LIBRARY OF C. C. C., CAMBRIDGE.

THE following Creed occurs, together with the Lord's Prayer and the usual hymns, at the end of a manuscript Psalter preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and assigned by Nasmith, in his Catalogue, to the beginning of the 15th century. It must be regarded simply as a translation into Greek of the Western Creed in its most complete form. It was first published by Abp. Usher, and is occasionally referred to by Bp. Pearson.

The Psalter is described in the title as Pope Gregory's Psalter : but the Creed is of a type long posterior to the age of Gregory.

The manuscript is written throughout in two parallel columns, the one Latin, the other Greek ; but the Greek as well as the Latin is in Roman letters. A calendar is prefixed, and from the names of the saints which it contains it is probable that the manuscript was written in England.

It will be observed that the word "omnipotens," which in Art. 1 is expressed by *παντοκράτωρ*, the word universally used in the Creeds of those Churches whose proper tongue was Greek, is translated *παντοδύναμος* when it occurs again in Art. 6. The translator probably felt, that, while *παντοδύναμος* more accurately represented the Latin "omnipotens," he could not venture in the 1st Article to depart from a word which had been established

there from the beginning: but that in the 6th Article, where the epithet was comparatively of recent introduction, and where there was no corresponding epithet in the Eastern Creeds, a greater licence might be allowed. Bp. Pearson, referring to this Creed, and giving to it, as though it were an original, an authority which it cannot justly claim, makes the two words a ground for two distinct dissertations on the word "Almighty," one where it occurs in Art. 1, the other where it occurs in Art. 6.

#### XXXIV.—ENGLAND. XVth Century.

*From a MS. (No. 468) in the Library of C. C. C., Cambridge.*

1. Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα,  
Ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς·
2. Καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,  
Τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν·
3. Τὸν συλληφθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου,  
Γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου·
4. Παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, σταυρωθέντα,  
Θανέντα, καὶ ταφέντα·
5. Κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα·  
Τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν·
6. Ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς·  
Καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς παντοδυνάμου·
7. Ἐκείθεν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.
8. Πιστεύω εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον·
9. Ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν·  
Ἁγίων κοινωνίαν·
10. Ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·

11. *Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν*·

12. *Ζωὴν αἰώνιον*· Ἀμήν.

The following is the Creed as it stands in the original :—

1. Pisteuo is theon patera pantocratora,  
Pitin uranu kegis ;
2. Ke Jesum ip̄on, yion autu ton monogeni,  
Ton Kyrion imon ;
3. Ton siliftenta ek pneumatos agiu,  
Gennitenta ek Mareias tin partenu ;
4. Pathonta epi Pontio Pilatu, staurotenta,  
Thanenta, ke tafenta ;
5. Cateltonta is ta catotata ;  
Titriti imera anastanta apo ton nechron ;
6. Aneltonta is tus uranus ;  
Cathezomenon en dexia theu patros pantodinamu ;
7. Echiten erchomenon crine zontas ke nechros.
8. Pisteuo is to pneuma to agion ;
9. Agian ecclesian Catholican ;  
Agion kinomian ;
10. Afesin amartion ;
11. Sarkos anastasin ;
12. Zoie eonion. amin.

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CREEDS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH FROM THE 9TH  
CENTURY INCLUSIVE TO THE REFORMATION.

AFTER the close of the 8th century we meet no longer with incomplete Creeds, except in cases like that presented by the Psalter of Athelstan, where ancient forms have been preserved, whether

for occasional use, or simply by transcription without any special object in view. Henceforward the Western Creed may be regarded as established in the form which it bears at this day, and the series of Creeds might here be terminated.

The reader may be interested however in tracing the variations in language and mode of expression, which a formula so familiar has passed through in our own country, as it has been uttered by the lips of our forefathers in successive ages. I shall therefore continue the series till we reach the 16th century; since which time, except in spelling, it has undergone no change.

Of the following Creeds, No. xxxv. is from a manuscript in the Lambeth Library, containing the Psalter and various hymns, such as the *Te Deum*, the *Magnificat*, the *Athanasian Creed*, &c., in Latin, but interlined with an Anglo-Saxon version. The manuscript is assigned in the Lambeth Catalogue to the 9th century.

The Creed, No. xxxvi. is from an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, (G. g. 3. 28,) in the University Library at Cambridge. It is appended together with the Nicene Creed and the Lord's Prayer to the Homilies of Ælfric.

It is not improbable that in many cases the Anglo-Saxon Creeds which are found interlining the Latin text are simply translations made by private individuals; but there can hardly be a doubt but that the Creed appended to these Homilies is the authorized formula which the clergy in Ælfric's

time were required to teach the people, according to the ancient laws of the Church of England<sup>f</sup>.

The text of this Creed has been often printed.

It will be observed that the epithet "Catholic," as applied to the Church, is omitted in the 9th Article. And this, remarkably enough, is a case of not unfrequent occurrence in English Creeds prior to the Reformation. Even as late as the 15th century the clause is simply "Holy chirche."

It has been a question whether the author of the Homilies to which the Creed is appended was the Ælfric, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from A. D. 995 to A. D. 1006, or another of the same name, who presided over the see and province of York from A. D. 1023 to A. D. 1051. The latter appears the more probable<sup>g</sup>, and I have accordingly given the date as circ. A. D. 1030.

The trilingual Creed, No. xxxvii, is from a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, containing the Psalter and the usual hymns, each in Latin, Norman-French, and Anglo-Saxon.

In the case of the Psalter there are three different Latin versions, headed respectively "Hebr." "Rom."

<sup>f</sup> "Ut ipsi presbyteri Domini-  
cam Orationem et Symbolum An-  
glice discant et doceant." So it  
was decreed in a council held by  
Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canter-  
bury, in the year 747. In the  
"Canones dati sub Edgaro Rege,"  
was one, (No. 22,) ordaining "Ut  
quisque discat *Pater noster et*  
*Credon* priusquam in consecrato

sepeliatur cœmeterio, vel idoneus  
censeatur Eucharistiæ percipien-  
dæ." A similar Canon occurs  
among the laws of king Canute.  
See Wheloc's Bede, vol. ii. pp. 67  
and 105.

<sup>g</sup> See Thorpe's Preface to "The  
Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon  
Church," published by the Ælfric  
Society, p. v.



“Gall.<sup>h</sup>,” each forming a separate column, and the three columns standing side by side in each page. With the first of these versions the Norman-French translation is interlined; with the second the Anglo-Saxon; with the third a brief exposition or paraphrase in Latin.

The hymns, &c. have the Latin interlined with the Saxon and French translations, as in the Creed here given.

The manuscript is extremely interesting, as exhibiting specimens, to so great an extent, of the two languages spoken contemporaneously in this country for a considerable time after the Norman conquest, and out of which, blended with one

<sup>h</sup> The *Roman* Psalter was the old Italic version cursorily and in part corrected by Jerome. It was so called because the use of it began the soonest and continued the longest in the Roman offices. It obtained in Gaul nearly as early as at Rome.

But in the 6th century Gregory of Tours introduced the *Gallican* Psalter, which was Jerome's more correct version made from Origen's Hexapla, or most correct copy of the Septuagint, filled up, where the Greek was supposed to be faulty, from the Hebrew; and distinguished with obelisks and asterisks denoting the common Greek version in those places to be either redundant or deficient. It was admitted into England before the coming of Augustine, and continued afterwards except in the

church of Canterbury, which was more immediately under the archbishop's eye, and more conformable to the Roman offices than other parts of the kingdom. At length it was publicly authorized for the whole Roman obedience at the council of Trent. It is the basis of our Prayer Book version of the Psalms, though still the latter has many corrections made by comparison with the original Hebrew by Coverdale and others.

The *Hebraic* Latin Psalter is Jerome's own translation from the original Hebrew. This, though otherwise of great esteem, was never used in the public services of the Church.

Waterland on the Athanasian Creed, chap. 4. Works, vol. 3. pp. 162—164. Ed. 1843.

another, our present English is framed. It is much to be regretted that it has never been published<sup>i</sup>.

It will be observed that the word answering to "Almighty" in Art. 1 is rendered "Ælwealdend" in the Anglo-Saxon version : ("Ealmihtig" is written in the margin.) The corresponding word in Art. 6 is "Ealmihtig." These answer respectively to the words παντοκράτωρ and παντοδύναμος in the Greek Creed of the C. C. C. Cambridge manuscript, (No. xxxiv,) on the distinction between which Pearson lays so much stress. With the exception of Creed No. xxxix, where we have "Al-waldand" in Art. 6, I have met with no other Creed of the Western Church, which, disregarding the Latin "omnipotens," has ventured to adhere to the meaning of the original Greek word παντοκράτωρ,—ὁ πάντων κρατῶν, ὁ πάντων ἐξουσιάζων, as St. Cyril of Jerusalem explains it<sup>k</sup>.

In a Calendar prefixed to the Psalter occurs the

<sup>i</sup> There is in the Bodleian Library, (Laud. 201,) a manuscript volume, compiled by William Lisle, apparently with a view to publication, which contains, besides other matter, the Psalter and the usual hymns, in Anglo-Saxon, and, together with these, the identical Anglo-Saxon version of the Creed of the Trin. Coll. manuscript described above, from which it was doubtless transcribed. Probably the Psalter and the hymns also would be found, on examination, to be transcripts from the same manuscript.

The volume is thus described

in the title-page : "The Saxon English Psalter, to preserve the memory of our mother Church and language, out of MSS. most auncient remaining still in the University Library and that of Trinity and Corpus Christi Colledge in Cambridge.

'Ego cur stabilire caduca,  
Si possum, inuideor? Quidni  
fugientia sistam?'"

It has written on it the "Imprimatur" of "Henr. Butts, Pro-canc. Cantabrig. 3 Dec. 1630." It belonged to Abp. Laud in 1638.

<sup>k</sup> Catech. 8. §. 3.

following note, at XI Kal. Maii, "Obiit piæ memoriæ Anselmus Arc̃ps." Anselm died April 21, A. D. 1109. So that the manuscript must be posterior, though probably but by a few years, to that date.

The Creed No. xxxviii, which, compared with No. xxxvi, from which it might seem to have been altered word for word, shows the change which our language had undergone under the influence of the Norman element which had been introduced into it, is found at the end of a manuscript in the British Museum, assigned by Wanley to the earlier part of the 13th century<sup>1</sup>.

For the Creeds, numbered xxxix, xl, xli, xlii, xliii, xliv, xlv, I am indebted to Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, and the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*.

No. xlvi is from the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man," set forth by Henry the VIIIth in the year 1543. This brings the language of the Creed, as nearly as possible, into conformity to that now in use : and with this I conclude the series of Declarative English Creeds of the Western type.

### XXXV.—ENGLAND. IXth Century.

*From a MS. (No. 427) in the Lambeth Library.*

1. Ic gelyfe on God Fæder ælmiht'gne,  
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
Scyppend heofonan and eorþan ;  
Creatorem coeli et terræ ;

<sup>1</sup> Literat. Septentr. p. 228.

2. And on Hælend Crist, Sunu his anlican,  
Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Drihten urne ;  
Dominum nostrum ;
3. Se the wæs geacnod of tham Halgan Gaste,  
Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto,  
Acænned of Marian tham mædene ;  
Natus ex Maria Virgine ;
4. Gethrowad under tham Pontiscan Pilate,  
Passus sub Pontio Pilato,  
Gerod fæstnad,  
crucifixus,  
Dead, and bebyrged ;  
Mortuus, et sepultus ;
5. He nither astah to hel warum ;  
Descendit ad inferos ;  
Tham thriddan dæge he aras fram deadum ;  
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
6. He astah to heofonum ;  
Ascendit ad cœlos ;  
He sit to swythran hand God Fæder  
Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris  
wæs ælmihtigan ;  
omnipotentis ;
7. Thonan toweard deman tha cucan and  
Inde venturus judicare vivos et  
tha deadan.  
mortuos.
8. Ic gelyfe . . . . .  
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;
9. Tha halgan gelathunge riht gelyfdan ;  
Sanctam ecclesiam Catholicam ;

- Halgana gemænysse ;  
 Sanctorum communionem ;  
 10. And forgyfnysses synna ;  
       Remissionem peccatorum ;  
 11. Flæscas æriste ;  
       Carnis resurrectionem ;  
 12. And thaet ece lif.                        Si hit swa.  
       Et vitam æternam.                    Amen.

XXXVI.—ENGLAND.    Circ. A. D. 1030.

*From a MS. (Gg. 3. 28.) containing the Homilies of Ælfric,  
 in the University Library, Cambridge.*

1. Ic gelyfe on God Fæder ælmihtigne,  
       Scyppend heofenan and eorþan.
2. And Ic gelyfe on Hælend Crist, his ancenne-  
       dan Sunu,  
       Urne Drihten ;
3. Se wæs gecacnod of þam Halgan Gaste,  
       And acenned of Marian þam mædene ;
4. Gethrowod under þam Pontiscan Pilate,  
       On rode ahangen ;  
       He wæs dead and bebyrged ;
5. And he nyther astah to helle ;  
       And he aras of deathe on þam thriddan  
       dæge ;
6. And he astah up to heofonum ;  
       And sitt nu æt swithran Godes ælmihtiges  
       Fæder ;
7. Thanon he wyle cuman to demenne  
       ægþer ge þam cucum ge þam deadum.
8. And Ic gelyfe on ðone Halgan Gast ;



9. And tha halgan \* \* gelathunge ;  
 And halgena gemænnysse ;  
 10. And synna forgifenyssse ;  
 11. And flæsc̃es ærist ;  
 12. And thæt ece lyf.                      Sy hit swa.

XXXVII.—ENGLAND.    Circ. A. D. 1125.

*From a MS. (R. 17.) in the Library of Trinity Coll., Cambridge.*

1. Ic gelefe on Gode Fædera ælwealdend<sup>m</sup>,  
 Ieo crei en Deu le Perre tut puant,  
 Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
  
 Sceppend heofones and eorthan ;  
 Le criatur de ciel e de terre ;  
 Creatorem coeli et terræ ;  
  
 2. And on Helende Crist, Suna his anlich,  
 E en Jesu Crist, sun Fil uniel,  
 Et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum,  
  
 Drihten ure ;  
 Nostre Seinur ;  
 Dominum nostrum ;  
  
 3. Syo the akynned is of tham Halig Gaste,  
 Ki concevz est del Seint Esprit,  
 Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto,  
  
 Boran of M[arian] tham mæden<sup>n</sup> ;  
 . Nez de Marie la . . .  
 Natus ex Maria Virgine :

<sup>m</sup> Marg. Ealmihtig.

<sup>n</sup> Here and in the next Article the manuscript is mutilated. The

words supplied are from the manuscript in the Bodleian Library, referred to above, p. 87, note i.

4. [Gethrowode under tham Pontiscam] Pilate,  
 and on rode ahangen,  
 . . . . . ntien Pilate, crucifiez,  
 Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus,  
  
 Dead, and beberiged ;  
 Morz, e seveliz ;  
 Mortuus, et sepultus ;
5. He adun astæh to hellæ ;  
 Descedied as enfers ;  
 Descendit ad inferna ;  
  
 Thriddan degge he aras fram deatha ;  
 Et tierz jurn relevad de morz ;  
 Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
6. He astah to heofone ;  
 Muntad as ciels ;  
 Ascendit ad celos ;  
  
 Sit on switran healfes Godes Fæderes eal-  
 mihtig ;  
 Siet a la destre de Deu Perre tres tut puant ;  
 Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;
7. Thánen he is to cumene, and to demenna  
 quiche and deade.  
 Diluc est avenir jugier les vis e les morz.  
 Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.
8. Ic gelefe on Halig Gast ;  
 Jeo crei el Seint Espirit ;  
 Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;

9. And on halig gesomnunge fulfremede ;  
 Seinte Eglise Catholica ;  
 Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ;  
 Halegan hiniennesse ;  
 La communion des seintes choses ;  
 Sanctorum communionem ;
10. Forgyfenyssse synna ;  
 Remissium des pecchiez ;  
 Remissionem peccatorum ;
11. Flesces up arisnesse ;  
 Resurrectiun de charn ;  
 Carnis resurrectionem ;
12. Lif eche.                      Beo hit swa.  
 Vie pardurable.              Seit feit.  
 Vitam æternam.              Amen.

XXXVIII.—ENGLAND.    Circ. A. D. 1225.

*From a MS. (Nero A. XIV) in the British Museum.*

1. Ich bileve on God Feder almihti,  
 Schuppare of heovene and of eorthe ;
2. And on Jesu Crist, his onlepi Sune,  
 Ure Loverd ;
3. That was ikenned th̄r the Holi Gaste,  
 Iboren was of the meidene Marie ;
4. Ipined was under Ponce Pilate,  
 Ineiled was o the rode,  
 Dead, and iburied ;
5. He lihto into Helle ;  
 The thridde dei he aros from deathe to live ;

6. And steih into heovene ;  
Ther he sit o Gode's rithonde Feder almihti ;
7. Thonene he cumeth to demen the quike and  
the dead.
8. I bileve on the Holi Goste ;
9. And on holi \* \* Chirche ;  
Iniennesse of haluwen ;
10. Vorgivenesse of sunnen ;
11. Vleches up-ariste ;
12. Eche lif efter death. Amen.

### XXXIX.—ENGLAND. XIIIth Century.

*British Museum. Cleop. B. vi. fol. 201. Maskell's Monumenta  
Ritualia. Vol. 2. p. 240.*

1. Hi true in God, Fader Hal-michttende,  
That makede heven and herdeth ;
2. And in Jhesu Krist, is ane lepi Sone,  
Hure Laverd ;
3. That was bigotin of the Hali Gast,  
And born of the mainden Marie ;
4. Pinid under Punce Pilate, festened to the rode,  
Ded, and dulvun ;
5. Licht in til helle ;  
The thride dai up ras fra dede to live ;
6. Steg intil hevenne ;  
Sitis on his Fadir richt hand, Fadir al-waldand ;
7. He then sal come to deme the quike an the  
dede.
8. Hy troue hy theli Gast ;
9. And hely \* \* kirke ;  
The samninge of halges ;

- 10. Forgifnes of sinnes ;
- 11. Uprisigen of fleyes ;
- 12. And life withuten ende. Amen.

XL.—ENGLAND. XIIIth Century.

*MS. Harleian. 3724. fol. 44. Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia.*  
*Vol. 2. p. 240.*

- 1. I bileve in God Fadir almichty,  
     Sshiper of hevene and eorthe ;
- 2. And in Jhesus Crist, his onlepi Sone,  
     Ure Loverd ;
- 3. That is i-vang thurch the Holy Gost,  
     Bore of Marie Mayden ;
- 4. Tholedge pine under Pounce Pilat,  
     Picht on rode tre,  
     Ded, and y-buriid ;
- 5. Licht in to helle ;  
     The thridde day fram deth aros ;
- 6. Steich in to hevene ;  
     Sit on his Fadir richt honde, God almichti ;
- 7. Thenne is cominde to deme the quikke and  
     the dede.
- 8. I bileve in the holy gost ;
- 9. Al holy chirche ;  
     Mone of alle halwen ;
- 10. Forgiveness of sinne ;
- 11. Fleiss uprising ;
- 12. Lyf withuten ende. Amen.



## XLI.—ENGLAND. XIVth Century.

*MS. Harleian. 2343. fol. 2. Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia.**Vol. 2. p. 241.*

1. I bileve *into* God Fader almygti,  
Maker of hevene and of erthe ;
2. And *into* Jesu Crist, his onli Sone,  
Oure Lord ;
3. Which was conceyued of the Holi Goost,  
Borun of the Virgyne Marie ;
4. He suffrid passiou Pilat of Pounce, crucified,  
Deed, and buried ;
5. He wente down to helle ;  
The thridde day he roos agen from deeth to liif ;
6. He stigid to hevene ;  
There he sittith on the rigthalf of God the  
Fadir almygti ;
7. And fro thens he is to come to deeme the  
quyke and the deede.
8. I belieue in the holi goost ;
9. Al holi chirche ;  
Communynge of seyntis ;
10. Forgeuenes of synnes ;
11. Agenrisyng of fleisch ;
12. And everlastyng liif. Amen.

1. 2. "Into." 8. "In." Compare Creeds x, xxiii,  
xxiv, xxvi, xxx.

## XLII.—ENGLAND. XIVth Century.

*Reliquiæ Antiquæ. Vol. 1. p. 38.*

1. I byleve in God Fader almygti,  
Maker of hevene and of erthe :

2. And in Jhesu Crist, the sone of hym,  
Only oure Lord ;
3. The wuche is consceyved of the holy Gost,  
Y-boren of Marie Maiden ;
4. Suffrede passioun under Pounce Pilate, y-cru-  
cified,  
Ded, and buried ;
5. Went down in to helle ;  
The thridde day he roos from dethe ;
6. He steyet up to hevenes ;  
He sitteth on the rigt syde of God the Fadir  
almygti ;
7. Thennes he is to come to deme the queke  
and the dede.
8. I byleve in the holy Gost ;
9. Holy chirche general ;  
The comunyng of halewes ;
10. The Forgefenesse of synnes ;
11. The rysyng of flech ;
12. And the lyf whit-outende. Amen.

XLIII.—ENGLAND. Circ. A. D. 1400.

*Prymer, in Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia.*

*Vol. 2. p. 177.*

1. I bileue in God Fadir almygti,  
Makere of heuene and of erthe ;
2. And in Jesu Crist, the Sone of him,  
oure Lord oon aloone ;
3. Which is conceyued of the hooli gost,  
Born of Marie maiden ;

4. Suffride passioun undir Pounce Pilat, crucified,  
Deed, and biried ;
5. He wente doun to hellis ;  
The thridde day he roos agen fro deede ;
6. He steig to hevenes ;  
He sittith on the rigt syde of God the Fadir  
almygti ;
7. Thenus he is to come for to deme the quyke  
and deede ;
8. I bileve in the hooli Goost ;
9. Feith of hooli chirche ;  
Comunynge of seyntis ;
10. Forgyuenesse of synnes ;
11. Agenrisyng of fleish ;
12. And everlastyng lyf.      So be it.

#### XLIV.—ENGLAND. XVth Century.

*Douce MS. 246. Bodl. Libr. Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia.*  
*Vol. 2. p. 241.*

1. I bileve in God Fadre alle mygty,  
Shapere of hevene and of erthe ;
2. And in Jhesu Crist, his oonlepye sone,  
Oure Lord oon ;
3. Which was conceyved of the Holy Goost ;  
Borne of the mayden Marye ;
4. Suffrede undir the Ponce Pilate, crucifyede,  
and dede, and is buriede ;
5. Cometh doun to helles ;  
The thridde day he roos from deethis ;
6. Stayed up to hevenes ;

Sitteth on his Fadre rigte side, God alle  
mygty ;

7. And fro thense he is to come for to deeme  
the qwyke and dede.

8. I bileve in the Holy Spirit ;

9. Holy \* \* chirche ;

Comunyng of seyntes ;

10. Forgeuenesse of synnes ;

11. Risyng of flesshe

12. *Unto* ay lastyng lif. So mote it be. Amen.

11. 12. " Risyng of flesshe *unto* ay lastyng lif." Compare Creeds XIV, XV, XXVII.

#### XLV.—ENGLAND. A. D. 1538.

*Prymer in English and Latin. Maskell's Monumenta Ritualia.*

*Vol. 2. p. 241.*

1. I beleve in God the Father almyghty,  
Maker of heven and earthe ;

2. And in Jesu Chryst hys onely sonne,  
Our Lorde ;

3. Whiche was conceyved by the holy Ghoste,  
And borne of the Virgyn Mary ;

4. Which suffred deathe under Pons Pylate, and  
was crucified,  
Deade, and buried ;

5. Which descendyd to hell ;  
The thyrde day rose from death to lyfe ;

6. Whiche ascendyd into heven ;  
And sytteth at the rygt hande of God the  
Father almyghtye ;

7. And from thens shall come for to judge both  
the quycke and the deade.
8. I beleve in the holy Ghoste ;
9. The holy churche catholike ;  
The communyon of sayntes ;
10. The remyssyon of synnes ;
11. The resurrectyon of the flesshe ;
12. And the lyfe everlastynge. So be it.

XLVI.—ENGLAND. A. D. 1543.

*From the " Necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen  
man : set furthe by the Kynges majestie of Englande."*

1. I beleve in God the Father almighty,  
Maker of heaven and earth ;
2. And in Jesu Christe, his onely Sonne,  
Our Lorde ;
3. Whiche was conceived by the Holy Goste,  
Borne of the Virgine Mary ;
4. Suffred under Ponce Pylate, was crucified,  
Dead, buried,  
And descended into Hell ;
5. And the third day he rose agein from deth ;
6. He ascended into heaven ;  
And sitteth on the right hand of God the  
Father almighty ;
7. From thens he shall come to judge the quicke  
and the deade.
8. I beleve in the Holy Goste ;
9. The holy Catholike Churche ;
10. The communyon of sayntes ;



- The forgyveness of synnes ;  
 11. The resurrection of the body ;  
 12. And the lyfe everlastynge. Amen.

4. 5. 9. 10. The Articles are here numbered as in the original. For the arrangement which places "The communion of saints," and "The forgiveness of sins," under one Article, see the Exposition of "the Tenth Article." See also the "Notes and observations of the Creed," in the Institution of a Christian Man. Formularies of Faith, pp. 249 and 78.

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It may be interesting, in closing this series of English Creeds, to draw attention to peculiarities which some of them exhibit :

The remarkable coincidence between Creed xli and the Creed of Rufinus and some others, in respect of the change of case from the accusative, in Articles 1 and 2, to the ablative, in Article 8, has been already indicated by the references at the end of the first-mentioned. It is an additional instance of the existence of a text such as I have adopted in giving Rufinus's Creed ; and so far perhaps a confirmation of the genuineness of that text in Rufinus's Creed.

Attention has been drawn also at the end of xliv to the coincidence between the form of Articles 11 and 12, as there exhibited, and as they appear to have stood in St. Augustine's Creed.

The variation in the words answering to "Almighty," in xxxvii and xxxix, has also been noticed in the introductory matter prefixed to this section.

Other points of interest are :

In Art. 2. for "His only Son, our Lord," we have the following :

"The Sone of hym, only oure Lord," XLII ;

"The Sone of him, our Lord oon alone," XLIII ;

"His oonlepye Sone, oure Lord oon." XLIV.

In Art. 5. "He descended into Hell," is, in xxxv, "He nither astah to *hel-warum*," to "the inhabitants of Hell," a literal translation of the accompanying Latin, "ad inferos," here used, as for the most part in later times, instead of the older form, "ad inferna."

In Art. 9. the "Holy Catholic Church" is very variously represented. By xxxviii, xxxix, and xliv, "Catholic" is omitted altogether ; xl and xli have "Al holy Chirche ;" xlii, "Holy Chirche general ;" xliii, "Feith of hooli Chirche ;" xxxvii expresses "Catholic" by "fulfremede," "perfect ;" and xxxv by "riht gelyfdan," "right-believing," "orthodox."

In the same Article, the Norman Creed, xxxvii, expresses the "Communion of Saints" by "*La communium des seintes choses*."

## II. INTERROGATIVE CREEDS

### USED AT BAPTISM.

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THE Interrogative Creed used in the baptismal service often differed more or less, in the same Church, from what I have ventured to call, by way of distinction, the Declarative Creed. As a general rule, the third and fourth Articles were shortened, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh omitted. Sometimes additional clauses were inserted ; sometimes the phraseology was slightly altered. We have instances in both of these last-mentioned respects in our own baptismal Creed. Sometimes, where some particular heresy was prevalent, the Creed was shaped so as to make explicit confession of the truth perverted or denied. This appears to have been the case at the baptism of the emperor Justinian. For Nicetius, in an epistle written to reclaim him from the heresy into which he believed him to have fallen, addresses him, "*Dulcis et dulcis noster Justiniane, rememorare quæ promisisti cum baptizatus es ; quid per singula te credere dixisti : Unum Filium manentem in duabus substantiis cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, non duos Christos, testatus es :*"—which seems to imply, that the interrogatories had been so framed as to draw

forth an explicit confession of the truths perverted by Nestorianism and Eutychianism<sup>a</sup>.

The Creed was distributed under three interrogatories : E. g. *Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem cœli et terræ ? Resp. Credo. Credis et in Jesum Christum &c. (to the end of Art. 7.) ? Resp. Credo. Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum &c. (to the end.) ? Resp. Credo.*

Most of the Creeds which follow are to be found in Martene *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, l. i. c. i. Artt. XIII and XVIII. Those numbered XLVII, XLIX, L, from the Acts of Martyrs, can scarcely be relied upon as certainly representing the Creeds of the Churches and ages to which the histories with which they are severally connected belong<sup>b</sup>. But they all bear internal evidence of very remote antiquity.

<sup>a</sup> Nicetii *Epistola ad Justinianum Imperatorem*, Gallandii *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Tom. XII. p. 778.

<sup>b</sup> "Two remarkable passages greatly weaken, or rather utterly destroy, the authority of all the older Roman martyrologies. In the book, *De libris recipiendis*, ascribed to the pontificate of Damasus, of Hormisdas, more probably to that of Gelasius, the caution of the Roman Church, in not publicly reading the martyrologies, is highly praised, their writers being unknown and without authority. 'Singulari cautela a S. Rom. Ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripserint nomina penitus ignorantur, et ab infidelibus vel

idiotis superflua aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit esse putantur. . . ' Gregory I. makes even a more ingenuous confession, that, excepting one small volume, (a calendar, it should seem, of the names and days in which they were honoured,) there were no Acts of Martyrs in the archives of the Roman see, or in the libraries of Rome. "*Præter illa, quæ in ejusdem Eusebii libris, de gestis sanctorum martyrum continentur, nulla, in archivis hujus nostræ ecclesiæ vel in Romanæ urbis bibliothecis, esse cognovi, nisi pauca quædam in unius codicis volumine collecta, &c.* Greg. M. *Epist. viii. 29.*" Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 23.

Some question has been moved as to the genuineness of the Treatise de Sacramentis ascribed to St. Ambrose. The simplicity of the Creed contained in it would afford a presumption at least in favour of its belonging to the age of St. Ambrose rather than to the 7th or 8th century to which some have referred it.

I have again inserted the two fragments of the Creed of Carthage as preserved by St. Cyprian, this being indeed their rightful place.

The Creeds from the ancient baptismal services may be regarded as the Creeds in use in the Churches for which the manuscripts which contain them were respectively written, at the time when they were written. That from the Gelasian Sacramentary, first published by Thomasius, and republished by Muratori, is evidently very ancient, and may well be believed to represent the Interrogative baptismal Creed of the Roman Church of the age of Gelasius, though doubtless it was still in use in the form in which it is given, in the Church,—(apparently some French Church,)—for which the manuscript was written. The absence of the  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  and of the *Filioque* from the Nicene Creed in the same office are proofs of the great antiquity of the manuscript, especially considering that it was written in France, in which country the *Filioque* was added to the Nicene Creed before A. D. 800. Martene gives extracts from three other manuscript copies of the Gelasian Sacramentary, which he ascribes to the same age. The Interrogative Creed



contained in these is somewhat fuller, the original having doubtless been altered to the current formula of the time. It is not necessary to describe the remaining Creeds further than by indicating, as they occur, the sources from which they are severally derived.

#### XLVII.—ROME. Circ. A. D. 220.

*Creed used at the baptism of Palmatius. From the "Martyrium Sancti Calixti Papæ et Sociorum ejus, ut in antiquissimis MSS. codicibus habetur, quibus suffragantur peræetusta Martyrologia."* Surius *De probatis Sanctorum Historiis. Tom. 7. p. 781.*

1. Credis, ex toto corde, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
Factorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium ?  
Respondit Palmatius, Credo.
2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus ?  
Et ait, Credo.
3. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto  
Ex Maria Virgine ?  
Palmatius respondit, Credo.
8. Et in Spiritum Sanctum ;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ;
10. Remissionem peccatorum ;
11. Et carnis resurrectionem ?  
Et exclamavit cum lachrymis Palmatius,  
dicens, Credo, Domine.

## XLVIII.—CARTHAGE. A. D. 255.

S. CYPRIAN *ad Magnum, Ep.* 76.

10. Credis remissionem peccatorum,  
 12. Et vitam æternam,  
 9. Per sanctam Ecclesiam ?

S. CYPRIAN *ad Episcopos Numidas, Ep.* 70.

12. Credis in vitam æternam,  
 10. Et remissionem peccatorum,  
 9. Per sanctam Ecclesiam ?

## XLIX.—ROME. A. D. 259.

*Creed used at the baptism of Nemesius and his daughter. From the "Acta S. Stephani Papæ et Martyris," apud Baronium, ad An. 259.*

1. Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem ?  
     Respondit, Credo.  
 2. Et in Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum ?  
     Respondit, Credo.  
 10. Remissionem omnium peccatorum ?  
     Respondit, Credo.  
 11. Carnis resurrectionem ?  
     Respondit, Credo, Domine.

It is not easy to account for the omission of the 8th Article, except on the supposition of some transcriber's carelessness.

## L.—ITALY. A. D. 303.

*Creed used at the baptism of Venustianus. From the "Acta S. Savini, Episcopi et Martyris." Baluzii Miscellanea, Tom. 2. p. 54.*

1. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem ?

Respondit Venustianus, Credo.

2. Et in Jesu Christo, Filio ejus ?

Respondit, Credo.

8. Et in Spiritu Sancto ?

Respondit Venustianus, Credo.

4. Et in Eum qui passus est,

5. Et resurrexit ?

Respondit Venustianus, Credo.

6. Et in Eum qui ascendit in coelos,

7. Et iterum venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et sæculum, per ignem ?

Dixit, Credo.

Et in adventu ipsius et regnum ejus (sic)

10. in remissionem peccatorum,

11. et carnis resurrectionem ?

Venustianus respondit, Credo in Christum,  
Dei Filium, qui me illuminet.

## LI.—ROME, probably. Circ. 378.

ST. JEROME. *Adv. Luciferianos. S. Hieronymi Opera. Tom. 4. pars 2. p. 297. Paris. 1706.*

Solemne est in lavaero, post Trinitatis confessionem, interrogare,

9. Credis sanctam Ecclesiam ?

10. Credis remissionem peccatorum ?

## LII.—MILAN. Circ. A. D. 380.

ST. AMBROSE. *De Sacramentis*, l. 2. c. 7. *Opp. Tom. 2. p. 359.*  
*Paris. 1686—1690.*

Interrogatus es,

1. Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem?

Dixisti, Credo :

(et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es.)

Iterum interrogatus es,

2. Credis in Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum,

4. Et in crucem ejus?

Dixisti, Credo :

(et mersisti : ideo et Christo es consepultus.)

Tertio interrogatus es,

8. Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum?

Dixisti, Credo :

(Tertio mersisti, ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolveret trina confessio.)

## LIII.—ROME. A. D. 495.

But in use in FRANCE. Circ. A. D. 750.

*From the Gelasian Sacramentary. "Sacramentarium Gelasianum, sive Liber Sacramentorum Romanæ Ecclesiæ, a sancto Gelasio I. Papa, uti videtur, concinnatus, ante annos pæne mille exaratus<sup>c</sup>, quem Romæ anno MDCLXXX luce donavit Ven. P. Joseph Maria Thomasius." Muratori, Tom. 1. p. 570.*

1. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?

Credo.

<sup>c</sup> Muratori's work was published in 1748.

2. Credis et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus  
unicum,

Dominum nostrum,

3. Natum,

4. Et passum ?

Credo.

8. Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum ;

9. Sanctam Ecclesiam ;

10. Remissionem peccatorum ;

11. Carnis resurrectionem ?

Credo.

In three manuscript copies of the Gelasian Sacramentary, an extract from which is given by Martene, each written about the year 800, the above Creed occurs with the addition of Art. 12. " Vitam æternam." l. i. c. i. Art. xviii. Ord. 5.

In a manuscript copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary, written about the middle of the 9th century, we have the same Creed with the addition of " Creatorem coeli et terræ " in Art. 1, and of " Catholicam " in Art. 9. Muratori, Tom. 2. p. 157.

#### LIV.—FRANCE. VIIth Century.

*From the Codex Bobiensis, in Mabillon's Museum Italicum,  
Tom. i. p. 324.*

1. Credit in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
Creatorem coeli et terræ ?

Credat.

2. Credit et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus  
unicum,

Dominum nostrum ;



3. Conceptum de Spiritu Sancto ;  
Natum ex Maria Virgine ;
4. Passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum,  
. . . . et sepultum ;
5. Descendit ad inferna ;  
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
6. Ascendit in coelos ;  
Sedit ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;
7. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos ?  
Credat.
8. Credit in Spiritum Sanctum ;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ;  
Sanctorum communionem ;
10. Remissionem peccatorum ;
11. Carnis resurrectionem ;
12. Vitam habere post mortem ;  
In gloriam Christi resurgere ?  
Credat.

In the case of infants the 3rd Person was sometimes used. See August. ad Bonifac. Ep. 8. §. 7.

#### LV.—FRANCE. VIIIth Century.

*From an ancient Gallican Missal published by Thomasius, Codices Sacramentorum, p. 475. Mabillon De Liturgia Gallicana, p. 364.*

Credis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum  
unius esse virtutis ?

Credo.

Credis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum  
ejusdem esse potestatis ?

Credo.

Credis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum,  
trinae veritatis, ("f. unitatis,") una manente  
substantia, Deum esse perfectum?

Credo.

LVI.—FRANCE. Circ. A. D. 750.

*Pirminius in Mabillon's Analecta, Tom. 4. p. 577. See above,  
p. 70.*

Post istam abrenuntiationem Diabolo et omnibus  
operibus ejus, interrogatus es a sacerdote,

1. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
Creatorem coeli et terræ?  
Et respondisti, Credo.

Et iterum,

2. Credis et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus  
unicum,  
Dominum nostrum;

(3. 4. 5. 6. 7. as in Creed xxxi above.)?  
Et respondisti, Credo.

- Et tertio interrogavit sacerdos,  
8. Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum;  
(10. 11. 12. as in Creed xxxi above.)?

Respondisti aut tu aut patrinus pro te, Credo.

A baptismal Creed precisely the same is found in a  
manuscript, (Codex Gellonensis,) written about A. D. 800,  
given by Martene, l. i. c. i. Art. xviii. Ord. 6.

LVII.—FRANCE. Circ. A. D. 900.

*From a MS. belonging to the monastery of Chelles, of the above  
date. Martene, l. i. c. i. Art. xviii. Ord. 10.*

1. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,

Creatorem coeli et terræ ?

Credo.

2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum,
3. Natum,
4. Et passum ?

Credo.

8. Credis et in Spiritum sanctum ;
9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam ;  
Sanctorum communionem ;
10. Remissionem peccatorum ;
11. Carnis resurrectionem ;
12. Vitam æternam ?

Credo.

The above formula occurs repeatedly after this.

#### LVIII.—ENGLAND. A. D. 1543.

*From the Salisbury Manual. Manuale ad usum percelebris  
Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis. Rothomagi A. D. MDXLIH; Londini  
MDLIV.*

1. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
Creatorem coeli et terræ ?

Credo.

2. Credis et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus  
unicum,  
Dominum nostrum,
3. Natum,
4. Et passum ?

Credo.

8. Credis et in Spiritum sanctum ;

9. Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam;  
Sanctorum communionem;
10. Peccatorum remissionem;
11. Carnis resurrectionem;
12. Vitam æternam post mortem?  
Credo.

The same formula occurs in an ancient ritual of the Church of Limoges, as given by Martene, l. i. c. i. Art. xviii. Ord. 18.

12. "Vitam æternam post mortem." Hence the "Everlasting life after death" of our own baptismal Creed.

#### LIX.—ENGLAND. A. D. 1549. (Mense Maii.)

*From Edward the VIth's First Prayer Book.*

1. Doeste thou beleve in God the Father almightie,  
Maker of heaven and yearth?  
I beleve.
2. Doest thou beleve in Jesus Christ hys onely begotten Sonne, our Lord;
3. And that he was conceived by the holy Gost, Borne of the Virgin Mary;
4. That he suffered under Poncius Pilate, was crucifyed,  
Dead and buryed;
5. That he wente downe into hell;  
And also did ryse agayne the thyrde daye;
6. That he ascended into heaven;  
And sitteth on the righthand of God the Father almyghtie;

7. And from thence shall come agayne at the  
ende of the worlde,

to judge the quicke and the deade?

Doest thou beleve this?

I beleve.

8. Doest thou beleve in the holy Gost;

9. The holy Catholike Church;

The communion of saynctes;

10. Remission of sinnes;

11. Resurreccion of the fleshe;

12. And everlastyng lyfe after death?

I beleve.

#### LX.—ENGLAND. A. D. 1552.

*From Edward the VIth's Second Prayer Book.*

1. Doest thou beleve in God the Father almighty,  
Maker of heaven and earth;

2. And in Jesus Christ his onely begotten Sonne,  
our Lorde;

3. And that he was conceived by the holy Ghoste,  
Borne of the Virgyn Mary;

4. That he suffered under Poncius Pilate, was  
crucified,

Dead and buried;

5. That he went doune into hel;

And also did rise againe the thirde daie;

6. That he ascended into heaven;

And sitteth at the right hande of God the  
Father almighty;



7. And from thence shall come againe at the  
end of the world,  
to judge the quicke and the dead?
8. And doest thou beleve in the holy Ghoste ;
9. The holy Catholique Church ;  
The communion of saintes ;
10. The remission of synnes ;
11. The resurrection of the fleshe ;
12. And everlasting life after death ?
- All this I stedfastly beleve.

This is the Interrogative Creed at this day in use in the Church of England, both in the Baptismal Service and in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.

## LXI.

*Discrepancies in the Declarative and Interrogative Creeds now  
in use in the Church of England.*

DECLARATIVE.	INTERROGATIVE.
Art. 2. Only Son.	Art. 2. Only begotten Son.
5. Descended into Hell.	5. Went down into Hell.
7. He shall come to judge.	7. He shall come again, at the end of the world, to judge.
10. Forgiveness of sins.	10. Remission of sins.
11. The resurrection of the body.	11. The resurrection of the flesh.
12. The life everlasting.	12. Everlasting life after death.

III.  
THE APOSTLES'  
AND  
NICENE CREEDS  
HARMONIZED.

## LXII.—APOSTLES'.

[The parts without brackets represent, *on the whole*, the Western Creed of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Centuries.]

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
[Creatorem coeli et terræ ;]
2. Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum ;
3. Qui [conceptus] est de Spiritu Sancto,  
Natus ex Maria Virgine ;
4. [Passus] sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus,  
[mortuus,] et sepultus ;
5. [Descendit ad inferna ;]  
Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
6. Ascendit ad coelos ;  
Sedet ad dexteram [Dei] Patris [omnipotentis ;]

## LXIII.—NICENE. (CONSTANTINOPLE.) A.D. 381.

[The parts without brackets represent the Nicene Creed, as put forth  
by the Council of Constantinople.]

1. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα,  
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,  
ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀορατῶν·
2. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,  
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,  
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν  
αἰώνων,  
[Deum de Deo,]  
Φῶς ἐκ Φῶτος,  
Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,  
γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα,  
ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί·  
Δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο·
3. Τὸν, δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν,  
κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,  
καὶ σαρκωθέντα  
ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου,  
καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα·
4. Σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,  
καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα·
5.       \*               \*               \*
- Καὶ ἀνάσταντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς·
6. Καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς·  
καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς·

7. Inde venturus est  
judicare vivos et mortuos.
8. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;

9. Sanctam Ecclesiam [Catholicam ;]

[Sanctorum communionem ;]

10. Remissionem peccatorum ;

11. Carnis resurrectionem ;

12. [Vitam æternam.]

The following references will direct the reader to the Creeds in which the words or clauses within brackets occur severally for the first time.

1. Creatorem coeli et terræ. xxviii. But see also 1. 11.

iv. v.

3. Conceptus de Spiritu Sancto. xvi.

4. Passus, mortuus. xv.

5. Descendit ad inferna. x.

6. Dei Patris omnipotentis. xxv.

9. Catholicam. xix?

Sanctorum Communionem. xxv.

12. Vitam æternam. vii. See also ix.



7. Καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης  
κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·  
οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος·
8. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,  
τὸ Κύριον,  
καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν,  
τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς [Filioque] ἐκπορευόμενον,  
τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ  
συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον,  
τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν·
9. Εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκ-  
κλησίαν·
- \*                      \*                      \*
10. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·
11. Προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,  
12. Καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

2. 8. The additions “Deum de Deo” in Art. 2, and “Filioque,” in Art. 8, appear for the first time, as far as any extant records which can be relied upon enable us to speak, in the Creed recited at the 3rd council of Toledo, A. D. 589. Earlier dates indeed have been assigned by some, as the 1st council of Bracara, A. D. 411, by Bingham, as regards the “Filioque<sup>a</sup>,” and a Gallician council, A. D. 447 or 448, by Abp. Usher, as regards both additions<sup>b</sup>. But though confessions of faith containing the assertion of the procession from the Son, (not however the “Deum de” or “ex Deo,”) are given as recited at those councils, neither of them is the Constantinopolitan formula. The records of the council of Bracara, scanty as they are, seem to be of very dubious authenticity; and

<sup>a</sup> Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, x. 4. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Usher, *De Symbolis*. Works, vol. vii. p. 324.

of the Gallician council all the notice that De Aguirre gives is the following, "*Præter Regulam Fidei, quæ supra in fine concilii Toletani primi excusa est, nihil exstat.*" The date of the first council of Toledo is A. D. 400. See De Aguirre, *Collect. Concill.* Tom. 3. pp. 224. 79. 90. 24.

The Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ of the original Nicene Creed was omitted in the Constantinopolitan edition, doubtless for no other reason than because it was contained in the Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ which followed.

Τὸ Κύριον, καὶ τὸ ζῶποιδον, is variously read. In some instances, we have Τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ζῶποιδον, without καὶ; see Routh's *Opuscula*, vol. 1. p. 426. In the Creed of the Gelasian Sacramentary, given below in the Appendix, we have Τὸν Κύριον καὶ ζῶποιδον. Damascenus quotes the Article, as Τὸ Κύριον καὶ ζῶποιδον. *De Fid. Orth.* l. 1. c. 8. Paris 1712.

9. The preposition is omitted in many of the Latin versions; doubtless in order to conform the Article to the principle enuntiated by Rufinus, "*Hac præpositionis syllaba, Creator a creaturis secernitur, et divina separantur ab humanis.*" In *Symb.* §. 36.

The Latin Creed recited at the 3rd council of Toledo has merely "*In unam Catholicam Apostolicam ecclesiam,*" omitting "*sanctam.*" Our own version omits "*sanctam*" and the preposition also, "*I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church.*"

## IV. A HISTORICAL REVIEW

OF THE

SEVERAL ARTICLES OF THE WESTERN CREED.

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THE reader has now had placed before him a series of Creeds of the ancient Western Church, from the close of the second century downwards. It remains that we compare these together, article by article, tracing the changes which were made in the original fabric, till such time as it reached its present form, and assigning the date to each. Only it is to be borne in mind, that those changes ordinarily obtained but partially at first, and that it was often long before they acquired general, and longer still before they acquired universal, prevalence: so that it is one thing when a clause now in the Creed first appeared, another, when it became established.

There can be no doubt but that the Creed grew, in the first instance, out of the baptismal formula, having been suggested by the interrogatories which were put to the catechumen touching his belief in that divine Being, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whose Name he was about to be baptized. Eusebius, in his Epistle to the people of Cæsarea, after prefacing the Creed which he recites, and which

he had proposed to the Fathers assembled at Nicæa for their adoption, by stating that it was the Creed which he had been taught when he was a catechumen, and which he had professed when he was baptized, and which he had himself, both as presbyter and as bishop, taught in turn, concludes by deriving it from the baptismal formula : *Καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀποστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς, εἶπε· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος*<sup>a</sup>. And it is observable that the Creed of Jerusalem, used at the actual time of baptism, as given by St. Cyril<sup>b</sup>, is simply the baptismal formula put interrogatively : *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐχειραγωγέισθε κολυμβήθραν, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον μνῆμα. Καὶ ἠρωτᾷτο ἕκαστος, Εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Καὶ ὁμολογήσατε τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν*. The Creed which had been used just before in the vestibule of the baptistery, in the accustomed stipulations, is the same formula, with the addition of the 10th Article, put declaratively : *Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας*<sup>c</sup>. Both of these bear evident marks of extreme antiquity, and may well be believed to be the primitive forms of the mother Church of Christendom, still retained in her bap-

<sup>a</sup> Socrates, Hist. Eccles. i. 8. pp. 402 &c.

See Pearson on the Creed, vol. i. p. 55, and vol. ii. p. 26, and

<sup>b</sup> Cat. xx. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Cat. xix. 9.

tismal office side by side with the fuller and more complete Creed which forms the subject of St. Cyril's Exposition.

Whether other Articles, besides those indicated by the formulæ just referred to, had a place in the Creed in the Apostolic age, we have no means of knowing. The Creeds of St. Irenæus, of the close of the second century, and of Tertullian, of the beginning of the third, do not appear to be more than fragments,—so much of the Creed as fell within the scope of the respective writers. In these we find the first eight Articles and the eleventh. St. Cyprian, who belonged to the same Church as Tertullian and wrote within fifty years of him, supplies the 9th, 10th, and 12th Articles, in the two brief fragments which he has preserved to us. And it is not probable that these were additions made after Tertullian's time.

The earliest Western Creed which has come down to us, which may certainly be regarded as complete in itself and not merely fragmentary, is that of Marcellus of Ancyra, (ix.) and this, on the whole, exhibits the type which prevailed in the West, from the middle of the fourth century to the close of the sixth. I say, *on the whole*, because, passing by the omission of "Father" in the 1st Article, which is probably to be attributed to the oversight of some transcriber, it contains Article 12, which several of the Creeds belonging to that period are without.

Though however, as a general rule, the Creed



had not, by the close of the sixth century, advanced, in point of completeness, beyond the type exhibited in the formula of Marcellus, still there is not one of the clauses, which have since been added to Marcellus's Creed, which had not appeared before that date. But all had not appeared in one and the same Creed. Nor does any one of them as yet seem to have become established.

In the course of the seventh century, the Creed seems to have been approaching more and more nearly, and more and more generally, to conformity with the formula now in use ; and before its close, instances occur of Creeds virtually identical with that formula. The earliest Creed however which I have met with actually and in all respects identical with it, that of Pirminius, (xxxI,) does not occur till the eighth century ; and even towards the close of the eighth, A.D. 785, there is one remarkable example of a Creed, then in use, which retains much of the incompleteness of the formula of earlier times, the Creed of Etherius Uxamensis, (xxxII.)

By the close of the eighth century the formula now in use may be considered as on the whole established. And this date, as it coincides with the time at which the bishops of Rome were strenuously engaged in endeavouring to conform the Liturgies of other Churches to the Roman order<sup>d</sup>,

<sup>d</sup> See Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, as quoted in note (n) at p. 64, above. Mabillon however represents the endeavour as not taking effect in Spain till the

eleventh century, nor in Ireland till the twelfth. Possibly it would be found, that in Spain and in Ireland the text of the Creed continued to vary in some respects,

so it suggests what is in all probability the true account of the eventual prevalence of one and the same type, throughout Western Christendom, of that formula which till then had been variously expressed in various Churches.

I now proceed to trace the history of the several clauses in detail.

### ART. 1.

#### CREDO IN DEUM PATREM OMNIPOTENTEM.

This clause, as was to have been expected, is substantially of universal occurrence. The Eastern Creeds, as Rufinus remarks, are characterized by the explicit assertion of the *unity* of the Godhead<sup>e</sup>. The Creeds of St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and Facundus Hermianensis, are cast, in this respect, in the

for a century or two later than in France and elsewhere, from that which was eventually established. The Creed of Etherius, referred to in the text, A. D. 785, is a Spanish Creed.

<sup>e</sup> “*Orientales ecclesiæ omnes pæne ita tradunt, ‘Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem;’ et rursum in sequenti sermone, ubi nos dicimus, ‘Et in Christum Jesum, unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum,’ illi tradunt, ‘Et in unum Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, unicum Filium ejus.’ ‘Unum’ scilicet ‘Deum’ et ‘unum Dominum,’ secundum auctoritatem Pauli Apostoli (1 Cor. viii. 6) profitentes.*” Rufin. in Symb. §. 4. “When Leo, bishop

of Rome, in an epistle to Flavianus, had written these words, ‘*Fidelium universitas profitetur, Credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus,*’ one of the Eutychians objected with this question, ‘*Cur non dixerit in unum Deum Patrem, et in unum Jesum, juxta Nicæni decretum Concilii?*’ To which Vigilius, bishop of Trent, or rather of Tapsus, gives this answer, ‘*Sed Romæ, et antequam Nicæna Synodus conveniret, a temporibus Apostolorum usque ad nunc, ita fidelibus Symbolum traditur.*’” Vigil. l. 4. §. 1. contr. Eutych. Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 18. For Vigilius see Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. 8. p. 730.

Eastern mould; and they are the only Western Creeds, as far as I am aware, that are so.

The Creed of Aquileia, in Rufinus's time, contained "*invisibilem et impassibilem*," besides "*omnipotentem*." The addition had been made before Rufinus's age, as a protest against the Patripassian heresy<sup>f</sup>. How long it continued afterwards is not known: but the next time we meet with the Creed of Aquileia it had disappeared. (See Creeds XII and XIII.)

#### CREATOREM COELI ET TERRÆ.

St. Irenæus's Creed expands this clause into τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς: Tertullian's has "*mundi conditorem*," to which is added, in one instance, "*qui universa de nihilo produxerit*." (I. II. IV. V.)

After Tertullian, the clause, though found almost universally in the Eastern Creeds, does not occur again in those of the West till the close of the seventh century. From that time it may be considered as on the whole established, though it is wanting in the Spanish Creed of Etherius and Beatus, A.D. 785. The Western expositors, however, frequently adduce the creation of the world, when commenting upon the word "*omnipotentem*," as affording one of the most signal proofs of God's almighty power<sup>g</sup>.

The probability is, that the clause was not in the earliest Creeds, but that it was introduced in the East, at a very early period, to assert the truth

<sup>f</sup> See above, p. 27.    <sup>g</sup> See e. g. St. Augustine de Fide et Symbolo, §. 2.

against the blasphemy of those ancient heretics who denied that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Creator of the world were one and the same God. With this form of error St. Irenæus and Tertullian had to deal : and this circumstance might be an additional reason with them for making use of the Eastern formula. The Western Creed continued unaltered, till, in the lapse of time, either from the Constantinopolitan formula, now received throughout the whole Church, or through the commentaries of its own great writers, it admitted the clause in a shape most accordant with its own brevity and simplicity.

## ART. II.

ET IN JESUM CHRISTUM, FILIUM EJUS UNICUM,  
DOMINUM NOSTRUM.

Both the clauses of this Article are of almost universal occurrence, and, with few exceptions, in the identical words now in use. St. Irenæus, following the Eastern model, has, in one instance, *Kαὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν*, (I,) and Facundus Herimianensis, “Et in unum Dominum, Jesum Christum,” (XXII.) St. Irenæus and Tertullian, each in two instances, acknowledge the Son as the Creator, agreeably to the Apostolic formula, *δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα*, (I Cor. viii. 6.) (II. III. IV. VI.) For “unicum Filium” we have, in some instances, “unigenitum,” the Greek being uniformly *μονογενῆ*. (Our own baptismal Creed has “only-begotten.”) And to “Dominum”



the Creed of Etherius Uxamensis and that at the end of the Codex Bobiensis prefix "Deum," (xxxii, xxvii.) Novatian's Creed has "Dominum Deum," (viii.) Besides these there are no variations of moment.

It is far otherwise however in the Eastern Creeds. In the Constantinopolitan, for instance, the simple confession,

"Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum,  
Dominum nostrum,"

is expanded into

Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,  
τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,  
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,  
Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς,  
Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,  
γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα,  
ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί·  
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο.

The prevalence of heresy on the subject of this Article, in the East, made it necessary thus to enlarge the Creed of the earliest Church, not indeed by adding new truths, but, as Bp. Bull has shown in his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, by unfolding and exhibiting to view what from the first had been contained, and had been understood to be contained, under the simpler formula<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> "In tribus primis sæculis titulus *Filii Dei unigeniti* sive *unici*, Christo tributus, constanti ac perpetuo catholicorum omnium doctorum usu, in hunc sensum

plane determinatus fuit, ut divinam ejus ante omnia sæcula ex ipso Deo Patre generationem significaret." *Judic. Eccles. Cath.* cap. 5. §. 10. To the same purpose



## ART. III.

QUI CONCEPTUS EST DE SPIRITU SANCTO,  
NATUS EX MARIA VIRGINE.

This is comparatively a recent form of the Article. We first meet with it in one of St. Augustine's Creeds, (xvi,) if it be St. Augustine's, but only in one; nor does it occur again till we find it in the Creed of Eusebius Gallus, (xxv.) Even as late as the time of Etherius, A.D. 785, it had not become established. See xxxii.

The older forms are, "Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto *ex* Maria Virgine," and "Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto *et* Maria Virgine." In one of St. Augustine's Creeds, (xiv,) we have "Qui natus est *per* Spiritum Sanctum *ex* Virgine Maria," and in one of the Creeds in the Codex Bobiensis, (xxvii,) "Natum *de* Maria Virgine *per* Spiritum Sanctum."

Of the two forms, "*et* Maria," and "*ex* Maria," the latter is by far the more frequent.

The Constantinopolitan Creed has ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου, which it had inserted, especially with a view to the Apollinarian heresy, between the σαρκωθέντα and the ἐνανθρωπήσαντα of the Nicene, the latter being without the clause al-

Hooker, Eccles. Pol. bk. 5. c. 42:  
"Under Constantine the Emperor  
. . . Arius . . . became, through  
envy and stomach, prone unto  
contradiction, and bold to broach  
at the length that heresy, wherein

the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ,  
*contained but not opened in the  
former Creed*, the coequality and  
coeternity of the Son with the  
Father, was denied."

together<sup>i</sup>. It is observable with what studied care the Latin versions of this Creed often changed the *καὶ Μαρίας* of the original into “ex Maria,” obviously to conform the language of the Eastern formula to that with which their ears were more familiar, “Incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine.” The modern English version has followed in their wake, “Incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary.” Our forefathers however adhered more closely to the original, as may be seen in both the ancient English versions in the Appendix.

## ART. IV.

PASSUS EST SUB PONTIO PILATO, CRUCIFIXUS,  
MORTUUS, ET SEPULTUS.

The earlier Creeds for the most part were content to express merely the Crucifixion and the Burial, implying the Passion in the one, and the Death in the other. St. Irenæus sums up all in one, *καὶ τὸ πάθος*, (I.) “Passus sub Pontio Pilato,” (II.) “Passus, mortuus, et sepultus,” however occur, though without “crucifixus,” in one of Tertullian’s Creeds, (VI.) Later, we have “Passus, crucifixus, et sepultus,” in two of St. Augustine’s, (xv;) perhaps also “mortuus,” in one of these. But with this exception

<sup>i</sup> “These, omitted in the Nicene Creed, were put in by the council of Constantinople, upon the occasion of the Apollinarian heresy, as was observed by Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicum, in the council of Chalcedon : Οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι Πατέρες

οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ “ἐσαρκώθη,” ὁ εἶπον οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρες, ἐσαφήμισαν, εἰπόντες “ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου.” Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 172.

and another equally questionable, (XVII,) no formula contains the Article complete, as it now stands, till the seventh century.

The Constantinopolitan Creed has the crucifixion, the passion, and the burial, but not the death. The original Nicene Creed summed up all in one word, *παθόντα*.

The name of Pilate is almost universally expressed, as marking the time at which our Lord suffered. His contact with our Lord has gained for him, though not for good, a never-dying notoriety.

#### ART. V.

##### DESCENDIT AD INFERNA.

This clause occurs for the first time in the Creed of Aquileia as indicated by Rufinus, who mentions, in referring to it, that it was not found in the contemporary Creed of the Church of Rome. It occurs in the Athanasian Creed, circ. A.D. 430, under a slightly varied form, "Descendit ad inferos:" but otherwise we do not meet with it again, till we find it in the Creed of Venantius Fortunatus, A.D. 570. Venantius evidently had Rufinus's Commentary before him when he wrote his own. It is possible therefore, that he may simply have adopted the clause from the Creed of Aquileia. Thenceforward however it is of very frequent occurrence.

It is observable, that, though Rufinus expressly states that the clause was in the Creed of Aquileia

in his day, we do not meet with it in either of the Aquileian Creeds, (xii, xiii,) which have come down to us from other sources.

I said that Rufinus's Creed is the earliest which contains this clause. Yet this must be understood with some qualification. It is the earliest *orthodox* Creed which contains it. For otherwise it is found in an Arian Creed which appeared under three several forms in the years 359 and 360. This Creed was drawn up originally at Sirmium by the leaders of the Arian party, to be presented to the great council then about to assemble at Ariminum, the object being to set aside the Nicene formula<sup>k</sup>. Under this form it is known as the third Sirmian Creed. Towards the close of the same year, A. D. 359, it was adopted in an altered form in a synod held at Nicè (Νίκη) in Thrace<sup>l</sup>; and again with other alterations in the beginning of the following year, in a council held at Constantinople. It was written originally in Latin. King supposes that the Article relating to our Lord's descent into Hell was introduced into it by the Arians, the more effectually to blind the eyes of the orthodox, that, by professing a doctrine which by implication overthrew

<sup>k</sup> The Creed censured the use of the term οὐσία, and declared the Son to be ὁμοιος τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα, ὡς καὶ αἱ ἁγίαι γραφαὶ λέγουσιν τε καὶ διδάσκουσιν. It was in reference to the subscription of this Creed by the orthodox bishops, that St. Jerome wrote those well-known words, "Ingemuit totus

orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est." Adv. Luciferianos.

<sup>l</sup> Both Socrates and Sozomen say, that the Arians caught at the name, in the hope that with the simple it might make the Creed pass for the Creed of Nicæa, (Νίκαια). Socr. 2. 37. Sozom. 4. 19.

a doctrine which many of their sect held, namely, that Christ had no human soul, the Λόγος supplying the place of a soul, they might get the whole Creed to pass without suspicion.

The following are the clauses, as they stand in these three formulæ respectively :

i. Third Sirmian Creed, read at the council of Ariminum, A.D. 359.

4. Σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα·

5. Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα,  
καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα·  
ὃν πύλωροὶ ᾿Αιδου ἰδόντες ἔφριξαν<sup>m</sup>.

Socrates 2. 37.

ii. The Creed adopted at Nicè in Thrace, A. D. 359.

4. Σταυρῷ προσηλωθέντα, ἀποθανόντα,  
καὶ ταφέντα·

5. Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα·  
ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ ᾿Αιδης ἐτρόμασε.

Theodoret 2. 21.

iii. The Creed adopted at Constantinople, A. D. 360.

4. Σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα,  
καὶ ταφέντα·

5. Καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατεληλυθότα·  
ὃντινα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ᾿Αιδης ἔπηξεν.

Socrates 2. 41.

<sup>m</sup> This clause is from the Septuagint version of Job xxxviii. 17 : Πύλωροὶ δὲ ᾿Αιδου ἰδόντες σε ἔπηξαν.



It will be observed, that in the first of these three forms there is no mention of the Burial; in the second and third both the Burial and the Descent are specified.

These are the only Creeds extant in which the clause is found previously to Rufinus's time. But the fact of our Lord's descent into hell seems to have been ordinarily delivered, in connexion with the other great facts of the Gospel History, in the elementary instruction communicated to the new converts. In a summary of faith which Eusebius says he had translated from the Syriac, and which he states to have been rehearsed by Thaddæus, one of the seventy disciples, to Agbarus, king of Edessa, we have the following: *Ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν Ἅϊδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, κ. τ. λ.*<sup>n</sup> Whatever opinion may be formed as to the authenticity of the narrative, at any rate the summary of faith, in which these words occur, is a witness to the elementary teaching of very early times.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, though the "Descent into Hell" does not appear to have formed a part of the Creed which he expounded, nor indeed, (which is remarkable,) of any of the orthodox Eastern Creeds, yet dwells upon that Article of the Christian faith, both in his summary exposition in Catechesis iv, and in his more detailed Exposition. In the latter we have the following passage, in which, it is worthy of notice, there is the same accommoda-

<sup>n</sup> Hist. Eccles. i. 13.

tion of the words from the book of Job, which occurred in every one of the three Arian Creeds above cited:—'Εξεπλάγη ὁ θάνατος θεωρήσας καινόν τινα κατελθόντα εἰς ἄδην, δεσμοῖς τοῖς αὐτόθι μὴ κατεχόμενον. Τίνος ἔνεκεν, ὃ πυλωροὶ ἄδου, τοῦτον ἰδόντες ἐπτήξασθε; Τίς ὁ κατέχων ὑμᾶς ἀσυνήθης φόβος; . . . Προσέτρεχον οἱ ἄγιοι πρωφῆται, καὶ Μωϋσῆς ὁ νομοθέτης . . . Ἐλυτροῦντο πάντες οἱ δίκαιοι, οὓς κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος. Ἔδει γὰρ τὸν κηρυχθέντα βασιλέα τῶν καλῶν κηρύκων γενέσθαι λυτρωτήν. Εἴτα ἕκαστος τῶν δικαίων ἔλεγε· Ποῦ σου Θάνατε τὸ νίκος; Ποῦ σου Ἀἰδὴ τὸ κέντρον; Ἐλυτρώσατο γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ νικοποιός<sup>ο</sup>.

Though the phrase used in the earlier Creeds in which this clause occurs is “ad inferna” or “in inferna,” in one instance (xxiii) “ad infernum,” the more common form in later times, (adopted probably from the Athanasian Creed,) has been “ad inferos,” “to the inhabitants of the Inferna.” One of the Anglo-Saxon versions, (xxxv,) as noticed above, p. 102, follows the Latin “ad inferos” to the letter. The Creed in the Catechismus brevis, prefixed to the Articles of 1552, has “ad inferna.”

#### TERTIA DIE RESURREXIT A MORTUIS.

This clause is of universal occurrence; and with hardly any variation. The Constantinopolitan Creed adds κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, after 1 Cor. xv. 4. The original Nicene Creed had simply καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τριτῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

<sup>ο</sup> S. Cyril, Cat. 14. 19. See also Cat. 4. 11. Κατῆλθεν εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἵνα κἀκείθεν λυτρώσῃται τοὺς δικαίους.

## ART. VI.

ASCENDIT AD COELOS : SEDET AD DEXTERAM  
DEI PATRIS OMNIPOTENTIS.

These clauses also are both of universal occurrence : the former with hardly any other variation than that “ad” and “in,” “coelum” and “coelos,” seem to have been used interchangeably. The latter, in all the earlier Creeds, stood simply “Sedet ad dexteram Patris.” In one of St. Augustine’s expositions, if his, and in another which, though undoubtedly spurious, is placed among his works, we have “*Dei Patris*,” though it is doubtful, in both instances, whether “Dei” belongs to the Creed or to the Comment : but we do not meet with “*Dei Patris omnipotentis*,” till it occurs in the Creed of Eusebius Gallus, (xxv,) nor again till it occurs in the Creeds of the Codex Bobiensis, (xxvii, xxviii,) in the middle of the seventh century. From that time it may be considered as established. The Constantinopolitan Creed has simply ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός. The original Nicene Creed omitted the clause relating to the session altogether.

The best manuscripts of the Athanasian Creed read simply, “Sedet ad dexteram Patris,” omitting the “Dei” and the “omnipotentis.”

In the Greek Creed in the library of C. C. C. Cambridge, the “omnipotens,” which in Art. 1 had been translated παντοκράτωρ, is here translated παντοδύναμος. The translator, as I have already remarked, probably felt that παντοδύναμος more

accurately represented the sense of the Latin omnipotens, while, in the first Article, παντοκράτωρ had been too long and too universally established to be displaced. In two of the ancient Creeds in the language of this country, (xxxvii, xxxix,) the distinction is preserved, “ælwældend,” “ealmihtig,” (xxxvii;) “hal-michttende,” “al-waldand,” (xxxix.) I have not met with it elsewhere.

## ART. VII.

INDE VENTURUS EST JUDICARE VIVOS ET MORTUOS.

This also occurs in all, and with hardly any variation. In one of Eusebius Gallus's Creeds, (xxv,) and in the Creed of the Pseudo-Athanasius, (xxiv,) we have “*de vivis et mortuis*.”

St. Irenæus, (I, II,) and Tertullian, (IV,) like the Constantinopolitan Fathers, but not the Nicene, add that He shall come “*with glory*.”

The Constantinopolitan Creed adds further, what however had already appeared in the Creeds of Jerusalem and of the Apostolical Constitutions, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος P. This is said to have been directed, (so far as it was adopted by the Constantinopolitan Creed, and doubtless by that of Jerusalem,) against the heresy of Marcellus of Ancyra, who taught, that, at the Day of Judgment, the Word would return into the bosom of the Father whence He came forth, and cease to

P The existence of this clause in the Creed of the Apostolical Constitutions might serve to strengthen the argument of those

who would give to that formula, or to the portion of it which contains the Creed, a later date than the Nicene Council.



have a distinct personal subsistence, and by consequence a distinct personal reign. *Κἂν ποτέ τινος ἀκούσης λέγοντος, ὅτι τέλος ἔχει ἡ Χριστοῦ βασιλεία, μίσησον τὴν αἵρεσιν· Τοῦ δράκοντός ἐστιν ἄλλη κεφαλὴ, προσφάτως περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀναφνεῖσα. Ἐτόλμησέ τις λέγειν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ βασιλεύει· καὶ ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος, ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐξελθὼν, οὗτος εἰς Πατέρα πάλιν ἀναλυθεὶς οὐκέτι ἐστί.* S. Cyril. Hieros. Cat. 15. §. 27. See Pearson, vol. ii. p. 348.

## ART. VIII.

## CREDO IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM.

This article occurs universally, except indeed where the Creed in which it is lacking is obviously incomplete. In some few instances the reading appears to have been "In Spiritu Sancto," (see x, xxiii, xxiv, xxvi, xxx, and compare the English Creed xli,) although the accusative had been used in the first and second Articles; the object being, in all probability, to mark, more even than in the ordinary form, the distinction between the language used in reference to the Divine Being, and that used in reference to the Church and the remaining subjects of belief with which the Creed is occupied.

A more common variation is the omission of the word "Credo," here repeated from Art. i; several Creeds having simply "Et in Spiritum Sanctum." And this probably was the primitive form, as it grew immediately out of the baptismal formula,



agreeing well with a state of the text, in which comparatively few clauses were as yet interposed between "Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum," and "In Spiritum Sanctum." Such a form is still extant in the records of the Eastern Church. And it has been justly observed by Waterland, after Bp. Bull, that this form "expressed the doctrine of the Trinity in a clearer, closer, and stronger, manner than some of the more enlarged Creeds afterwards did. For the inserting of additional articles, time after time, carried the words 'Son' and 'Holy Ghost' so far off from the word 'God,' that it might look as if that high title, which belonged indifferently to all three, was there applied to the Father only, though the compilers of those larger Creeds really designed the same common application of the name of God as before <sup>q</sup>."

The original Nicene Creed ends with the 8th Article: not that it is to be supposed that the Church Catholic, of whose faith it was the exponent, meant to ignore the remaining articles; but that, no question having been moved respecting these, it was not thought necessary to recite them at length, in a formula whose end was answered when it had asserted the truth with regard to the three Persons of the sacred Trinity. "Confessi

<sup>q</sup> Waterland's "Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity," ch. 6. Bull, *Judic. Eccles. Cathol.*

ch. 4. §. 3. See also Rufinus *In Symb.* §. 35. For the form referred to see above, p. 124.

sunt," as St. Jerome says, "quod negabatur; tacuerunt de quo nemo quærebat." Epist. 41. ad Pam. et Ocean.

The Constantinopolitan expanded and enlarged the primitive Creed in this 8th Article, to guard the truth against the heresy of Macedonius, in like manner as the Nicene had done in the 2d, to guard the truth against the heresy of Arius :

Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,  
 Τὸ Κύριον,  
 Καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν,  
 Τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,  
 Τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ  
 Συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον,  
 Τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.

#### ART. IX.

##### SANCTAM ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM.

This clause, but simply as "Sanctam ecclesiam," occurs for the first time in the Creed of Carthage, as indicated by St. Cyprian. There can scarcely be a doubt, however, but that it had a place in the Creed of the same Church in Tertullian's time. For though it does not occur in any of the three Creeds given by Tertullian, yet his language elsewhere implies that it had a place,—more indeed, that it *must needs* have had a place,—in the Confession of Faith used at Baptism, with which he was familiar: "Cum sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignerentur, *necessario adjicitur Ecclesiæ men-*

*tio*; quoniam ubi tres, id est Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est<sup>r</sup>.”

“Catholicam,” if we except the Baptismal Creed (XLVII), recorded in the Acta S. Calixti, of whose date however we cannot be certain, occurs for the first time in one of the Creeds expounded by Chrysologus (XIX); yet, as it occurs in none of the remaining five of Chrysologus’s Creeds, and as there is no reference to it in the commentary upon the one in which it does occur, it is somewhat doubtful whether it has not crept into the text unawares. It occurs in one of the Aquileian Creeds (XIII); but the date of this is uncertain. It occurs in the Creed of Eusebius Gallus (XXV); but not again till we meet with it in one of the Creeds of the Codex Bobiensis, in the seventh century, (XXVIII.) I have already remarked upon its absence from some of our English Creeds, antecedently to the Reformation. In three of these which are here given it has no substitute whatever. In others its place is but partially supplied<sup>s</sup>.

In the Eastern Creeds, on the contrary, it occurs almost universally: *Εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν*, Constantinople; *Εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν*, Jerusalem, (St. Cyril); *Ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ*

<sup>r</sup> De Baptismo, vi. Compare also what he says further on in the same Treatise, (c. xi): “In quem tingueret? In pœnitentiam? Quo ergo illi præcursorem? In peccatorum remissionem?—quam verbo dabat. In semetipsum?—

quem humilitate celabat. In Spiritum Sanctum?—qui nondum a Patre descenderat. In Ecclesiam?—quam nondum Apostoli struxerant.”

<sup>s</sup> See above, p. 102.

καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, Apostolical Constitutions; and even in the Creed of Arius, which however is supposed by some to be that of Alexandria<sup>t</sup>, Εἰς μίαν καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων. Probably it was from the Eastern Creeds that the word, in the first instance, found its way into the Western.

Rufinus<sup>u</sup> and other writers of the Western Church lay much stress on the omission of the preposition (*in*) in this and the remaining articles, in contradistinction to its insertion before the names of each of the Persons of the Sacred Trinity, in Articles 1, 2, and 8, respectively. This distinction does not however appear to have been attended to even in the West in early times, for in St. Cyprian's Creed we have "Credis in vitam æternam," &c. But after Rufinus's age so much stress was laid upon it, that even the Constantinopolitan formula, "In unam sanctam, Catholicam, et Apostolicam Ecclesiam," (as it stood in strict accordance with the original in the most ancient versions<sup>x</sup>,) was altered into "Unam Catholicam," &c.; or as we have it in our own

<sup>t</sup> "Alexandrinæ, ut videtur, Ecclesiæ symbolum, quod Arius, illius Ecclesiæ presbyter, orthodoxum se simulans, Constantino obtulit." Usher *De Symbolis*, Works, vol. vii. p. 310. See also Suicer, voce Σύμβολον, Tom. ii. p. 1094. Bingham, x. 4. 10.

<sup>u</sup> In Symb. §. 36. See above, on Rufinus's Creed, p. 29.

<sup>x</sup> E. g. in the Latin Constanti-

nopolitan Creed, rehearsed in the 3d Council of Toledo, A. D. 589, De Aguirre, Tom. iii. p. 224; and in that in the Gelasian Sacramentary, Muratori, Tom. i. p. 542. See also another, given by Walch, p. 96, from a manuscript of the Canons of the Church of Rome, as published by Quesnel, Leonis Opera, Tom. ii. The first and last of these, however, omit "sanctam."



version, "I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church." The Oriental Creeds generally disregarded the distinction.

One other variation remains to be noticed:—the 9th Article is in some instances made to change places with the 12th, as in St. Cyprian's Creed, and in the Creeds numbered xvii and xviii. The Creed numbered xvii and the Creed of St. Cyprian have "Per Sanctam ecclesiam," thus declaring in express terms, what elsewhere is always implied, that it is through, or by our being incorporated into, the Church, as Christ's body, that we have remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and the life everlasting.

#### SANCTORUM COMMUNIONEM.

This clause, which does not occur in any of the formularies of the Eastern Church, was one of the latest additions to the Western Creed. St. Augustine was ignorant of it, for he says in his *Enchiridion*, "Post commemorationem 'Sanctæ Ecclesiæ,' in ordine Confessionis ponitur 'Remissio Peccatorum,'" c. lxiv; and in *Serm. ccxiii*, "Cum dixerimus 'Sanctam Ecclesiam,' adjungimus 'Remissionem peccatorum.'"

We first meet with the clause in one of the Creeds expounded by Eusebius Gallus, (xxv.)<sup>y</sup>

<sup>y</sup> Grabe (in his remarks on Bull's *Judic. Eccles. Cathol.* p. 184) says of this clause, "Constat non ante sæculum a Christo natum quartum ejus mentionem in Symbolo occurrise." I find no

instance of its occurrence so early as the fourth century, nor even as the fifth, unless the author of the Sermons ascribed to Eusebius Gallus be placed in the fifth century.



After a long interval it occurs again in one of the Creeds of the Codex Bobiensis, (xxviii.) It is still wanting in the Creed of Etherius, A.D. 785, (xxxii.) It can hardly therefore be considered as established before the close of the eighth century.

Different views have been taken of the meaning of the clause. It may be important to notice that the earliest commentators, that one in the number in whose sermons we first meet with it, understood it especially of the communion which the saints on earth have with the saints departed. "*Sanctorum communionem*: Sed sanctos non tam pro Dei parte quam pro Dei honore veneramur. Non sunt sancti pars Illius, sed Ille probatur pars esse sanctorum . . . Colamus in sanctis timorem et amorem Dei, non divinitatem Dei. Colamus merita, non quæ de proprio habent, sed quæ accipere pro devotione meruerunt. Digne itaque venerandi sunt, dum Dei nobis cultum et futuræ vitæ desiderium contemptu mortis insinuant." Euseb. Gallus, Hom. 2. "*Sanctorum communionem*: id est cum illis sanctis, qui in hac quam suscepimus fide defuncti sunt, societate et spei communione teneamur." Serm. ccxlii, alias De Tempore cxxxi, among the Sermons falsely ascribed to St. Augustine. Opera, Tom. v.

## ART. X.

### REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.

This Article occurs universally, and with hardly any variation.

In the Creed of Etherius (xxxii), in the Creed of

one of the Treatises published among St. Augustine's Works (xviii), and in the Interrogative Creed used at the Baptism of Nemesius and his daughter (xlix), we have "Remissionem omnium peccatorum."

The fragmentary Creeds of St. Irenæus and Tertullian do not take in the 10th Article.

The Constantinopolitan Creed and the Creed of Jerusalem make mention of Baptism as the sacrament of remission: Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, Const. Καὶ εἰς ἐν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, Jerus. apud Cyril. We have the same reference to Baptism in one of the Creeds in the Codex Bobiensis (xxvii), "Per Baptismum sanctum remissionem peccatorum."

## ART. XI.

### CARNIS RESURRECTIONEM.

This Article occurs, though rather as an appendage to Art. 7. than in an independent form, in one of St. Irenæus's Creeds, and in two of Tertullian's. (I. iv. v.) Thenceforward it is to be found in every Creed which may be regarded as complete.

It is observable that the English Creed, as set forth in "The necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man," in 1543, (xlvi,) exchanged "the resurrection of the *flesh*" for "the resurrection of the *body*." And since that time the latter has prevailed in our Declarative formula. In the Interrogative Creed, used at Baptism and at the Visitation of the Sick, we still keep the ancient word,—a word which it was once felt to be a matter of principle to hold

fast by, as more effectually guarding the truth designed to be set forth than the other. For there were heretics, who, while they denied “the resurrection of the *flesh*,” endeavoured to screen themselves from censure by ostentatiously professing that they believed “resurrectionem *corporis*.” Credimus, inquit, (the Origenists) resurrectionem futuram *corporum*. Hoc, si bene dicatur, pura confessio est: sed quia corpora sunt cœlestia et terrestria, et aer iste, et aura tenuis, juxta naturam suam, corpora nominantur, *corpus* ponunt non *carnem*, ut orthodoxus *corpus* audiens carnem putet, hæreticus *spiritum* recognoscat<sup>z</sup>. “In Symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod, ab Apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum ‘Carnis resurrectione’ concluditur. Et tu in tantum in *corporis*, et iterum *corporis*, et tertio *corporis*, et usque novies *corporis*, vel sermone vel numero, immoraris; nec semel nominas *carnem*, quod illi *semper nominant carnem, corpus* vero tacent<sup>a</sup>.” When we consider in how many instances ancient heresies have been reproduced, we shall see reason to rejoice that the original word was adhered to at least in one of our versions; though, at the same time, it must be acknowledged that our “resurrection of *the* body” does not present the ambiguity

<sup>z</sup> S. Hieron. Epist. 41. ad Pammach. et Ocean. de erroribus Origenis.

<sup>a</sup> S. Hieron. Epist. 38. ad Pammach.

contained in “corporis resurrectionem.” Apostolic usage, however, is a sufficient warrant for “corporis,” provided it be understood in the Apostolic sense.

The Aquileian Creed of Rufinus’s day, still more effectually to guard the truth confessed in this Article, prefixed “*hujus*” to *carnis*. “*Hujus sine dubio*,” Rufinus remarks, “*quam is qui profitetur signaculo crucis fronti imposito contingit, quo sciat unusquisque fidelium, carnem suam, si mundam servaverit a peccato, futuram vas esse honoris, utile Domino, ad omne bonum opus paratum; si vero contaminata fuerit in peccatis, futuram esse vas iræ ad interitum*<sup>b</sup>.”

Of the Eastern Creeds, St. Cyril’s, that of Arius, and that of the Apostolical Constitutions, all have *Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν*; that of Constantinople, (and herein it is nearly peculiar<sup>c</sup>), *Ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν*.

<sup>b</sup> In Symb. §. 43. Rufinus himself had been charged with leaning to Origen’s doctrine, “on which account it is observable, that, in his short confession of faith, extant in his Preface to the Apology of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, for Origen, he thus paraphrases this Article, ‘*Carnis resurrectionem, non per aliquas præstigias, sicut nonnulli calumniantur, dicimus, sed hanc ipsam carnem, in qua nunc vivimus, resurrecturam credimus. Non aliam pro alia, nec corpus aliud quam hujus carnis dicimus. Sive ergo corpus resurrecturum dicimus, secundum Apostolum dicimus, (hoc enim no-*

*mine usus est ille,)* sive carnem dicimus, secundum traditionem Symboli confitemur. Stulta enim adinventio calumniæ est, corpus humanum aliud putare esse quam carnem. Sive ergo ‘*Caro*,’ secundum communem fidem, sive ‘*Corpus*,’ secundum Apostolum, dicitur quod resurget, ita credendum est sicut Apostolus defini- vit.’” Inter Opera Hieron. King’s History of the Apostles’ Creed, p. 402.

<sup>c</sup> The fragmentary Creed indicated by the letter of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, in Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 4. has *τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν*.



## ART. XII.

## VITAM ÆTERNAM.

Although we find this Article in both the fragments of St. Cyprian's Creed, (vii,) yet it is wanting in many of the Creeds which follow. This is the case with the Creed of Aquileia, as given by Rufinus (x), and it may be inferred, seeing that Rufinus gives no intimation to the contrary, with that of Rome of the same age. Ζωὴν αἰώνιον however has a place in the Creed presumed to be that of Rome, as given by Marcellus, half a century earlier.

St. Augustine's Creed might seem to have ended with the 11th Article; and yet, in commenting upon that Article, he scarcely ever omits to refer to "the life everlasting," as though implicitly contained in it, if not explicitly. In one instance, (xvii,) we have "Vitam æternam" in express words, but I cannot disguise my doubts as to the genuineness of the sermon in which this occurs. Elsewhere we have, or seem to have, "Resurrectionem carnis in vitam æternam," as though Article 12 stood as a continuation of Article 11. And this may not improbably have been the form to which St. Augustine was accustomed. (See xiv and xv, and the remarks on those Creeds.) We have the same form expressly given in one of the Creeds of the Codex Bobiensis, (xxvii,) "Matthias dixit, Carnis resurrectionem in vitam æternam," and also in one of our own early English Creeds, (xliv,) "Risynge of flesshe unto ay lastynge lif."



In addition to the Creed of Aquileia, as given by Rufinus, the following also are certainly without Article 12: one of the two later Aquileian Creeds, (xii,) the Creeds of Maximus Taurinensis, (xxi,) of Venantius Fortunatus, (xxiii,) of the Laudian manuscript, (xxvi,) of king Athelstan's Psalter, (xxxiii,) the Interrogative Creeds of the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, (liii,) as well as those from the Acts of the Martyrs, (xlvii, xlix, l.<sup>d</sup>) And to these may be added St. Jerome's Creed, as may be inferred from a passage quoted in the preceding section, "Post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum 'Carnis resurrectione' concluditur."

On the whole therefore the 12th Article, though occurring as early as the middle of the third century, and thenceforward from time to time, can hardly be said to have been established in the Western formularies, till the middle of the seventh century.

The Constantinopolitan formula is *Ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος*: and with this agree the Creed of the Apostolical Constitutions and that presented by Arius and Euzoius to Constantine, except that these add further, *Καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν*. The Jerusalem Creed, as indicated by St. Cyril, has *Καὶ εἰς ζῶν αἰῶνιον*.

#### CONCLUSION.

I have now examined the several Articles of the

<sup>d</sup> The Interrogative Creeds were very frequently abbreviated, but not in the concluding Articles.

Western Creed in detail, and have endeavoured to trace their history, and to note the various modifications which they underwent, till they became fixed in the form under which they are found at this day.

I have noted also, though incidentally rather than of set purpose, points of coincidence or of divergence in some of the more important Creeds of the Eastern Church.

One fact must strike every one in this review, the entire harmony and consent with which, (except in the one particular of the addition of the "Filioque" to the Constantinopolitan formula,) the Churches both of the East and West have agreed substantially, amid various unimportant circumstantial discrepancies, to confess the great truths on which their hopes are built: and this in spite of many and sad differences, in later times, with regard to deductions drawn from these truths. So far at least, (would that there had been no room for qualification!) though there may have been variety in the vesture, there has been no rent. If the Eastern Creeds are fuller and more explicit, and descend more into particulars, in some of the Articles, than the Western, they do but unfold and expand the simpler statements of the latter, in accordance with the form of doctrine which the Church had received and taught from the beginning<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> See Bp. Bull's "*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*." Bp. Pearson's

view of the Creeds which were made by Councils, such as the

In saying this, I imply that the Western Creed, such at least as we find it in the fourth century, approaches more nearly to the primitive type than the Eastern Creeds of the same period. This is virtually stated by Rufinus<sup>f</sup>; and it is strongly confirmed by those ancient baptismal Creeds, both Declarative and Interrogative, which were still in use in the Church of Jerusalem in St. Cyril's day, and which, notwithstanding their locality, are more in accordance with the Western type than the Eastern<sup>g</sup>.

With regard to the first origin of the Creed, while all antiquity, confirmed by the substantial harmony of the various Creeds which have come down to us, agrees in directing our eyes to Apostolic times, there does not seem reason to believe

Nicene or Constantinopolitan, is that they were "larger explications of the Apostles' Creed." Vol. ii. p. 277. To the same purpose Hooker, as quoted above, p. 130, note h.

<sup>f</sup> "Priusquam incipiam de ipsis sermonum virtutibus disputare, illud non importune commonendum puto, quod in diversis Ecclesiis aliqua in his verbis, (Art. 1,) inveniuntur adjecta. In Ecclesia tamen Urbis Romæ hoc non deprehenditur factum, quod ego pro eo esse arbitror, quod neque hæresis ulla illic sumsit exordium, et mos ibi servatur antiquus, eos, qui gratiam baptismi suscepturi sunt, publice, id est fidelium populo audiente, Symbolum reddere; et utique adjectionem unius saltem

sermonis eorum qui præcesserunt in fide non admittit auditus. In cæteris autem locis, quantum intelligi datur, propter nonnullos hæreticos addita quædam videntur, per quæ novellæ doctrinæ sensus crederetur excludi." Rufinus in Symbolum, §. 3. See also the reply made by Vigilius of Tapsus to the objection, that Leo, in his Epistle to Flavian, had quoted the first and second Articles of the Creed according to the Western form instead of the Eastern,—“Sed Romæ, et antequam Nicæna Synodus conveniret, a temporibus Apostolorum usque ad nunc, ita fidelibus Symbolum traditur. Supra, p. 127, note e.

<sup>g</sup> Catecheses xix. 9. xx. 4. See them above, p. 124.

that any one formula was definitively prescribed by the Apostles. Had this been the case, the various Churches would scarcely have thought themselves at liberty to make alterations and additions to the extent to which they did. Much less is there warrant for the tradition mentioned by Rufinus, that each Apostle contributed a several Article. Still, substantially and in the main, the truths declared in the Creed are beyond doubt, not only the truths which the Apostles taught,—that we are sure of by the written record of their teaching contained in the New Testament,—but the truths which the Apostles and those immediately deputed by them required their converts to confess; and on the confession of which, and not without it, they admitted them to baptism. And this baptismal confession, as it was the occasion which gave rise to the Creed in the first instance, so it contributed to preserve to it its shape and form throughout. Baptism being administered in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, it was natural that the Confession made at baptism should be an acknowledgment of belief in each of these Divine Persons, and, together with this, of that Church into which those who were baptized were admitted, and in which they were taught to look for the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

This is as much as we can hope to know respecting the original of the Creed; and it is enough. “*Apostolicum nuncupo*,” Calvin well



remarks, “ de Auctore interim minime sollicitus. Apostolis certe magno veterum Scriptorum consensu adscribitur ; sive quod ab illis in commune conscriptum ac editum existimabant, sive quod compendium istud ex doctrina per eorum manus tradita bona fide collectum tali elogio confirmandum censuerunt. Neque vero mihi dubium est quin a prima statim Ecclesiæ origine, adeoque ab ipso Apostolorum sæculo, instar publicæ et omnium calculis receptæ confessionis obtinuit, undecunque tandem initio fuerit profectum. Nec ab uno aliquo privatim fuisse conscriptum verisimile est, quum ab ultima usque memoria sacrosanctæ inter pios omnes auctoritatis fuisse constet. Quod unice curandum est id extra controversiam positum habemus, totam in eo fidei nostræ historiam succincte, distinctoque ordine, recenseri ; nihil autem contineri quod solidis Scripturæ testimoniis non sit consignatum. Quo intellecto, de Auctore vel anxie laborare, vel cum aliquo digladiari, nihil attinet ; nisi cui forte non sufficiat certam habere Spiritus sancti veritatem, ut non simul intelligat aut cujus ore enunciata, aut cujus manu descripta fuerit.” Institt. l. 2. c. xvi. §. 18.





## APPENDIX.

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### GREEK AND LATIN NICENE (CONSTANTINOPOLITAN) CREED,

*From the Gelasian Sacramentary, as used in the Traditio Symboli. Muratori, Liturgia Romana Vetus, Tom. i. p. 540. See above, p. 65. note p.*

The date of this Creed must be placed circ. A. D. 495. But it appears to have been in use in France circ. A. D. 750.

[The marginal readings are from a Latin Creed which follows immediately afterwards in the service, being used for the female children. Except the variations thus indicated, the Latin Creeds are identical.]

#### INCIPIT PRÆFATIO SYMBOLI AD ELECTOS,

Id est, antequam dicis Symbolum, his verbis prosequeris :

Dilectissimi nobis, accepturi Sacramenta Baptismatis, et in novam creaturam Sancti Spiritus procreandi, fidem, qua credentes justificandi estis, toto corde concipite ; et, animis vestris vera conversatione mutatis, ad Deum, qui mentium nostrarum est inluminator, accedite, suscipientes Evangelicæ Symboli sacramentum a Domino inspiratum, Apostolis institutum ; cujus pauca quidem verba sunt, sed magna mysteria. Sanctus etenim Spiritus, qui magistris Ecclesiæ ita dictavit, tali eloquio, talique brevitate, salutiferam condidit fidem, ut quod credendum vobis est semperque providendum, nec intelligentiam possit latere, nec memoriam fatigare. Intentis itaque animis Symbolum discite :

et quod vobis, sicut accepimus, tradimus, non alicui materiæ quæ corrumpi potest, sed paginis vestri cordis ascribite. Confessio itaque fidei quam suscepistis hoc inchoatur exordio :

Post hæc, accipiens Acolythus unum ex ipsis infantibus masculum, tenens eum in sinistro brachio, ponens manum super caput ejus. Et interrogat eum Presbyter, Qua lingua confitentur Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum? Resp. Græce. Iterum dicit Presbyter, Adnuncia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt. Et dicit Acolythus Symbolum, Græce, decantando, tenens manum super caput infantis in his verbis :

#### LXIV.

1. Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem,  
Pistcuo. hisena. theon. pathera. panhocratoran.  
Factorem cœli et terræ,  
pyetin. uranu. kaegis.

Visibilium omnium et invisibilium :  
oraton. kaepanton. kaeauraton.

2. Et in unum Dominum, Jesum Christum,  
kaehisena. Kyrion. Ihm. Xpm.

Filium Dei unigenitum,  
tonion. tutheu. tonmonogenin.

De Patre natum ante omnia sæcula,  
tonectupatros. genitenta. propanton. toneconon.

\* \* \*  
\* \* \*

Lumen de Lumine,  
fosecfotos.

Deum verum de Deo vero,  
theon. alithin. ectheu. alithinu.

Natum non factum,  
genithenta. upyithenta.

Consubstantialem Patris<sup>1</sup>; <sup>1</sup> Patri  
omoysion. tupatri.

Per quem omnia facta sunt :  
diutapanta. egenon. ton.

3. Qui propter nos homines  
thondihimas. tusantrophus.

Et propter nostram salutem,  
kaediatin. himeteran. soterian.

Descendentem de coelis,  
kateltonta. ecton. uranon.

Et incarnatum  
kesarcotenta.

De Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine,  
ecpneuma. tosagiu. kaemarias. tispar. tenu.

Et humanatum ;  
kaeinantropisanta.

4. Crucifixum etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato,  
staurotentha. deyper. imon. epipontio. pilatu.

Et passum, et sepultum ;  
kaepathonta. kaetapenta.

5. Et resurgentem tertia die secundum Scripturas ;  
kaeanastenta. titriti. himera. kata. tasgraphas.

6. Et ascendentem in coelis<sup>2</sup>; <sup>2</sup> cœlos  
kaanelthonta. histus. uranus.

Et sedentem ad dexteram Patris ;  
kaekatezomeno. endexia. tupatros.

Et iterum venturum cum gloria  
kaepalin. ercomenon. metadoxis.

Judicare vivos et mortuos;  
 crine. zontas. kaenecrus.  
 Cujus regni non erit finis:  
 utis. basiliās. ucestin. thelos.

8. Et in Spiritum Sanctum,  
 kaehisto. pneuma. toagion.  
 Dominum,  
 tonkyrion.

Et vivificatorem,  
 kaezoopyon.

Et<sup>3</sup> Patre \* \* procedentem; <sup>3</sup> ex  
 tonectupatros. \* \* <sup>a</sup>emporegomenon.

Qui cum Patre et Filio  
 tonsynpatri. kaeyion.

Simul adoratum et conglorificatum;  
 synpros. kynumenon. kaesyn. doxazomen.

Qui locutus est per prophetas:  
 tolalesas. diaton. prophiton.

9. In unam Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ec-  
 hismian. agian. catholicin. kaepostolocin. e-  
 clesiam:  
 clesian.

10. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum:  
 omologo. en. baptisma. hisapes. inamartion.

11. Spero resurrectionem mortuorum;  
 prosdogo. anastas. sinnecron.

12. Et vitam futuri sæculi. Amen.  
 kaezoin. tumellos. tosaetonas. Amin.

<sup>a</sup> Assemani, who gives this Creed, inserts “καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ,” on his own authority. Codex Liturg. Tom. i. p. 12.



TWO ANCIENT ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE NICENE  
CREED.

OF the following Creeds, the former is an Anglo-Saxon version, which is found, together with the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and other "Prayers in English," appended to the Homilies of Ælfric, in a manuscript, (Gg. 3. 28.) in the University Library, at Cambridge. The Apostles' Creed is given above, Creed xxxvi, p. 90.

The second is from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, (Junius 121, Codex Wigorn.,) one portion of which contains canons enacted in the synod held at Winchester in the year 1076.

The Creed is written on a fly-leaf at the beginning, in a hand which recurs repeatedly in brief marginal notes throughout the manuscript, often explaining Anglo-Saxon words, which appear to have become obsolete, by Latin. Its date can scarcely be earlier than the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. It has never before been published, that I am aware of. The former Creed is given by Wheloc in his Edition of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and by the Ælfric Society in their Edition of Ælfric's Homilies, printed from the Cambridge manuscript above referred to.

On comparing the two Creeds, it will be observed that they correspond word for word, even to the peculiarities of the 4th Article; the latter being an adaptation of the former to the changes which the language of this country had undergone at the time when it was written.

## LXV.—MAESSE CREDĀ. Circ. A.D. 1030.

*Aelfric's Homilies, University Library, Cambridge.*

1. Ic gelyfe on ænne God Fæder ælmihtigne,  
Wyrceð heofenan and eorþan,  
And ealra gesewenlicra thinga and ungesewenlicra :
2. And on ænne Crist Hælend, Drihten,  
Thone ancennedan Godes Sunu,  
Of þam Fæder acenned ær ealle worulda,  
God of Gode,  
Leoht of Leohte,  
Sothne God of Sothum Gode,  
Acennedne na geworhtne,  
Efen-edwistlicne þam Fæder ;  
Thurh thone sind ealle thing geworhte :
3. Se for us mannum  
And for ure hæle,  
Nither astah of heofenum,  
And wearth geflæschamod  
Of þam Halgan Gaste and of Marian þam  
Mædene,  
And wearth mann geworden :
4. He throwode eac swylce \* \* ,  
On rode ahangen for us,  
And he wæs bebyrged ;
5. And he aras on þam thriddan dæge,  
Swa swa gewritu sethath ;
6. And he astah to heofonum ;  
And he sitt æt swithran his Fæder ;

## LXVI. Circ. A. D. 1200.

*Cod. Wigorn. Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

1. Ic ileue on enne God Fæder almihti,  
Wurchend heouene and eorthe,  
And alle iseienliche thing and unise-  
ienliche :
2. And on enne Crist Helend, Drihten,  
Thene ancenneden Godes Sunu,  
Of than Fæder akenned ær alre worlde,  
God of Gode,  
Liht of lihte,  
Soth God of sothe Gode,  
Akennd nout iwrouht,  
Efenedwistliene than Fæder ;  
Thurh thene beorth alle thing iwrouht :
3. The for us mannen  
And for ure hæle,  
Nither astæih of heouene,  
And wearth iflæschamod  
Of then holi goste and of Marian than  
Mæidene,  
And wearth mon iwurthen :
4. He throwede eac swulce \* \* ,  
On rode ahangen for us,  
And he was iburied ;
5. And he aras on than thridde dæie,  
So so iwrite siggeth ;
6. And he asteih to heouene ;  
And he sit ærihthond his Fæder ;

7. And he eft cymth mid wuldre  
To demenne tham cucum and tham deadum ;  
And his rices ne bith nan ende.
8. And Ic gelyfe on thone halgan Gast,  
Thone liffæstendan God ;  
Se gæth of tham Fæder and of tham Suna,  
And se is mid tham Fæder and mid tham  
Suna gebeden and gewuldrod,  
And se spræc thurh witegan.
9. Ic andette tha anan halgan and tha geleaf-  
fullan and tha apostolican gelathunge ;
10. And an fulluht on forgyfennysse synna ;
11. And Ic andbidige æristes deadra manna ;
12. And thæs ecan lifes thære toweardan worulde.  
Sy hit swa.

7. And he eftth cumeth mid wuldre  
To deminde then cwike and tham deaden ;  
And his riche ne bith nan ende.
8. And Ic ileve on thene holi Gost,  
Thene liffeftan God ;  
The geth of then Fæder and of then Sunu,  
And he is mid than Fæder and mid than  
Sunu ibeden and iwuldred,  
And he spæc thurh witegen.
9. Ic andette tha onan halwen and tha ileaf-  
fulle and tha apostolican ilathunge ;
10. And on fulluht on forgiuenesse sunna ;
11. And Ic abide ariste deadre manne ;
12. And thes eche liues thære tauwarde worlde.  
Beo hit so. Amen.

THE END.





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ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE PLACES TO WHICH THEY  
SEVERALLY BELONG.

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